

REPORT  
OF  
THE SECRETARY OF WAR,

COMMUNICATING,

*In compliance with a resolution of the Senate, a copy of the topographical memoir and map of Colonel Wright's late campaign against the Indians in Oregon and Washington Territories.*

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FEBRUARY 15, 1859.—Read, motion to print referred to the Committee on Printing.  
FEBRUARY 17.—Report in favor of printing the usual number, and 500 additional copies, for the use of the War Department.  
FEBRUARY 18.—Report considered and agreed to.

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WAR DEPARTMENT, *February 10, 1859.*

SIR: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of 27th ultimo, I have the honor to transmit herewith a communication from the officer in charge of the Office of Explorations and Surveys, covering "a copy of the topographical memoir and map of Colonel Wright's late campaign against the Indians in Oregon and Washington Territories," by Lieutenant John Mullan, jr., 2d artillery.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN B. FLOYD,  
*Secretary of War.*

Hon. J. C. BRECKINRIDGE,  
*President of the Senate.*

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WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS,  
*Washington, February 9, 1859.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith the preliminary topographical report of First Lieutenant John Mullan, jr., 2d artillery, acting topographical engineer on the campaign against the hostile Indians in Washington Territory, made by the command under Colonel George Wright, 9th infantry, United States army, called for by resolution of the United States Senate of January 27, 1859.

This report contains useful information, and its publication is therefore respectfully recommended.

Very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

A. A. HUMPHREYS,

*Captain Topographical Engineers, in charge.*

Hon. JOHN B. FLOYD,  
*Secretary of War.*

*Preliminary topographical memoir of Colonel George Wright's campaign against the hostile northern Indians in Oregon and Washington Territories, prepared by order of Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, under the direction of Captain A. A. Humphreys, in charge of Office of Explorations and Surveys, by Lieutenant John Mullan, United States army, acting topographical engineer.*

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *February 8, 1859.*

CAPTAIN: I have the honor herewith to transmit a copy of the topographical memoir of Colonel Wright's campaign against the hostile northern Indians in Oregon and Washington Territories, addressed to Lieutenant P. A. Owen, acting assistant adjutant general in the campaign, prepared by order of the Hon. Secretary of War. Accompanying this are maps of the battles of the "Four Lakes" and "Spokane Plains" and a plan of Steptoe's battle field, and a general map, in two sections, of our line of march in the Indian country, from Fort Dalles, Oregon. On leaving Oregon, Colonel Wright authorized me to delay making my report until I reached Washington, and therefore I have officially addressed it to Lieutenant P. A. Owen, and have submitted the whole work to you, in charge of the Bureau of Explorations and Surveys.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN MULLAN, *First Lieut. 2d Art'y,*

*Acting Topographical Engineer to Colonel Wright.*

Captain A. A. HUMPHREYS,

*In charge of Office of Explorations and Surveys,  
Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *February 1, 1859.*

SIR: I have the honor to make the following report for the information of Colonel Wright, commanding expedition against hostile northern Indians, of his march from Fort Dalles, Oregon, to the Cœur d'Alene mission, via Fort Walla-Walla, during the summer and autumn of 1858. Accompanying this report is a map of the country traversed, and every detail of special interest that was necessary to show the movements and plans of the campaign has been faithfully given, together with detailed maps and sketches of each battle-ground, and engagements with the Indians on the march. In the field and office I have met



with the most active, faithful, and cordial co-operation from my assistants, Mr. Kolecki and Mr. Sohon, who, during the whole campaign, were most zealous and untiring in their special departments; and I gladly express my warm thanks to them for their able and valuable assistance.

The country through which we passed was but little known, even to ourselves, with all our means at hand, our only maps being those furnished by Governor Stevens in his exploration for a railroad to the Pacific. But the information there given was not of that character that we could readily adapt to our travelling purposes, as itineraries, &c.; and we were hence compelled to rely mostly upon such reports as guides and friendly Indians could give us.

Our distances were measured by an odometer, positions determined by astronomical observations, bearings by the Schmalcalder compasses, profiles by the barometer, and the variations of the compass determined from camp to camp by observations either at noon, sunrise, or sunset. By direction of the Secretary of War, the data and material thus collected have been carefully arranged and prepared by Mr. Kolecki and myself during the present winter, in Washington, and under the special direction of Capt. A. A. Humphreys, in charge of the Bureau of Explorations and Surveys.

In order that the character of the country and march should be given with minuteness and with strict truth, and with a view that our labors may be the finger-boards, at some future day, for those who may have occasion to retrace our steps, I have had the map prepared on a large scale and the report given in journal form. The value of this will doubtless be appreciated by every military commander who is called upon to operate in that region, where our future Indian wars may yet be waged and where the character of the country is but little known; and as the information relating to it is nowhere else to be found, except in Governor Stevens' published railroad reports, I shall not deem it out of place to give such details as their merits may warrant.

The last detachment of the command that had been called into the field by General Clark, then commanding department of the Pacific, to operate against the hostile northern Indians, left Fort Dalles, under command of Major Wyse, 3d artillery, on the 15th of July, 1858. On the day following, Colonel Unger with his staff and my party of assistants and employés followed, taking the usually travelled route across the Three, Five, and Ten Mile creeks, to the Des Chutes river. The Five and Ten Mile creeks are now bridged, as also the Des Chutes, with strong substantial structures, thus affording a good and easily travelled wagon road, at all seasons, from Fort Dalles to the John Day river. On the night of the 17th of July we encamped at the point known as the Mud Springs, distant from the Dalles 27 miles.

On reaching the Des Chutes river it was both desirable and necessary to procure a good map of the Columbia river thence to Fort Walla-Walla. For this purpose I detached Mr. Sohon, who, taking passage in one of the small sailing craft that ply from the Des Chutes to old Fort Walla-Walla, and provided with the necessary instruments

and material, made a complete and correct map of this stream to the mouth of the Snake or Lewis' river, and still later extended his surveys and examinations to the mouth of the Pelouse and Toukannon.

The estimated distance from the Des Chutes to the mouth of the Snake river is 130 miles. The Columbia, from the Des Chutes to old Fort Walla-Walla, a distance of 119 miles, has been navigated for the last three years by small sailing craft of from 25 to 60 tons. From March to November there is a strong wind blowing up the Columbia almost daily, and from November to March the wind blows down stream; so that sailing vessels with their cargoes, taking advantage of the up winds, navigate the river to old Walla-Walla without difficulty, and there discharging their cargoes descend the river with the current.

But at times it so occurs that the winds give out at the foot of some of the rapids, and the boatmen are often compelled to await a favorable wind, thus rendering the navigation a little uncertain as regards time; and in order to overcome this difficulty it was decided to test the navigation of the river by steam. So in the month of October, 1858, a small steamer, "The Colonel Wright," was launched at the Des Chutes, to run to old Walla-Walla. This experiment to navigate the upper Columbia both by sailing craft and steam vessels is due to the energy of Captain Thomas Jordan, United States army, and Mr. R. R. Thompson, one of the sterling and enterprising business men of the west, who determined to put on the first line of sail vessels to supply the wants of the new military post at Walla-Walla.

The principal rapids that Mr. Sohon notes in his trip to old Walla-Walla are the "Five Mile rapids," five miles from the Des Chutes; "John Day's rapids," just below the mouth of John Day's river; "Indian rapids," three miles above the mouth of John Day's; "Squally rapids," eight miles above the mouth of John Day's; "Rock rapids," below the mouth of Rock creek; "Canoe Encampment rapids," six miles above Castle rock, and the "Umatilla rapids," at the mouth of the Umatilla river.

Mr. Sohon found the stage of water about ten feet below the high water mark, which last, at an extreme maximum, is sixty feet above the lowest stage.

There is no timber along this section of the Columbia, except at a few points between the Des Chutes and John Day's, on the right bank, but a small growth of willow is found throughout the entire length.

From the Des Chutes navigation is had to the foot of Priest's rapids, about eighty miles above old Walla-Walla, and it is thought by many that steamers can soon stem these rapids and ascend even to the Kettle falls, at Fort Colville.

The whole project of testing the navigation of the upper Columbia by steam commends itself to the earnest and early attention of the general government; and we can only express the hope that the steamer so recently launched for the navigation of this river is only to be the pioneer of the long line of steamers that may yet be seen ploughing the waters of the Columbia from the Pacific ocean to the Rocky mountains.

We found in the valleys of the Three, Five, and Ten Mile creeks a number of flourishing farms, as also in that of the Des Chutes. The mill privileges on the Des Chutes are of the most marked character, and must soon attract the attention of persons who are now looking to that region as the great grazing fields of the northwest.

There is but little timber on these streams, but the soil is fertile and productive. The Mud Springs need improving, and I would suggest that they be dug out and permanent tanks of water be established. These springs are on the left of the travelled route, and as there is no water thence to John Day's river, it is necessary that this shall always become a camping ground. No wood is found here; but a rich abundance of grass, and sufficient water for large bands of stock. Moving early in the morning of July 18, we travelled over an easily rolling prairie to the John Day's cañon, which is a rugged, steep, and difficult rocky defile, running obliquely to the valley of John Day's river. This cañon needs working, although wagons ascend and descend it now with some difficulty.

As there are a number of points along the route from Fort Dalles to Fort Walla-Walla that need improving, and as all the streams during the winter and spring seasons are swollen by the freshets that demand they should be bridged, I would respectfully, but urgently, call attention to the necessity for an appropriation for a military road from Fort Dalles to Fort Walla-Walla, and would recommend that an amount not less than twelve to fifteen thousand dollars be asked for that purpose.

At a distance of nine miles from Mud Springs the road forks, that to the north leading to the mouth of the John Day's, crosses this stream near its mouth, and thence passes along the Columbia, and becomes what is known as the "river road," or "river trail," which throughout most of the distance is not, in its present condition, practicable for wagons, but is a very good pack trail. The road to the south—the better of the two—is the usually travelled wagon route. On this portion of the road fine views are had of the Cascade range, and good bearings to the prominent mountain peaks—Hood, Adams, Jefferson, Rainier, and St. Helen's. Views are also had of the line of the Blue mountains, which seem to belt or girdle the country to the south from the Cascade mountains, eastward. In fact, the Blue mountains seem to be only a long east and west spur thrown out from the Cascade range, just after it crosses the Columbia river.

The John Day's river rises in the Cascade mountains and flows, at the point where we crossed it, through a valley one-quarter of a mile wide, and bounded on either side by high, rounded, prairie clad hills. The stream is, at the crossing, some fifty yards wide, two and a half feet deep, and flowing, with a rapid current, over a rocky, pebbly bed, with banks fringed with the willow, alder, and sage. Its soil is good, and during the past summer gold has been found at several points along its border. Our camp was established on both sides at the crossing, and about one mile below the mouth of Rock creek, which joins it from the east.

On reaching camp we examined a second cañon, half a mile to the

south of John Day's, but, if anything, it was more rugged than it. This stream rises some five feet during the spring and winter seasons, which then renders the route up Rock creek almost impracticable. This necessitates trains, during the freshet, taking the side hills on the east, where the grades are steep, and should be worked, in order to allow heavily laden trains to ascend and descend with facility. Persons travelling to or from Mud Springs should carry drinking water with them, as they find none on the route between these springs and John Day's.

Moving, on the morning of July 19, up the valley of the John Day's, on its right bank, we reached in one mile the Rock creek, ascending its valley by crossing the stream four times, at good fords. This stream is fringed with the willow, alder, and cottonwood, and flows through a winding valley one-fourth of a mile wide, bounded with rounded prairie hills. The valley is rich, covered with luxuriant grass, as are also the hills on either side. Travelling up its valley seven miles, we reached a good camp at an early hour, which enabled us to get a good meridian altitude of the sun, our camp being 54 miles distant from Fort Dalles.

We passed to-day a number of pretty farm sites. On the morning of 20th July, at an early hour, we left Rock creek, and gaining an open basin or alkaline bottom one-fourth of a mile wide, and lined on either side by low hills, we kept up it, reaching in  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles a few scrub cedar that here mark the Cedar or Juniper Springs.

Here is a small alkaline bottom soil, poor, and with the exception of a few cedar, no timber whatsoever is found. Crossing a series of low rolling prairie hills, occasionally passing small groves of cedars on the right and left of the trail, finding rich and luxuriant grass at every point. At a distance of 14 miles from Rock creek, we reached a high table-land, which we followed for three miles, when we began the descent of a cañon leading to the valley of the Willow creek. This cañon is not very difficult, but still needs working.

The valley of the Willow creek is a half mile wide, well grassed, and bounded by rolling prairie hills. The stream is fringed with willow, alder, and distant from John Day's 20 miles.

We made our camp on its right bank, with good grass, wood, and water. Took here good observations for latitude and time. At this season the water in this creek is not running, but stands in large deep pools, which being well shaded, the water is cool and refreshing.

The soil of the river bottom is a rich black loam. The stream rises in the low spurs of the Blue mountains, and empties into the Columbia; with its fine soil, good climate, and luxuriant grasses for miles around, it must, at no distant day, be the site of flourishing farms. There is not much timber at present in the valley, yet sufficient for all practical purposes.

Leaving our camp on this creek at an early hour on the 21st, we passed through a narrow valley, lined on either side by low prairie hills, when we once more reached the high table land, which we followed for thirteen miles to a point known as the Upper and Lower Well Springs; but not finding sufficient water for our large trains we



moved on toward Butter creek, a small tributary to the Umatilla river, and distant thirty miles from Willow creek. Having travelled twenty-eight miles over a rolling prairie, we came in view of the valley of the Umatilla, fringed with beautiful groves of cottonwood, and could see far in the distance the Ross and McKenzie's peaks, opposite to old Fort Walla-Walla, that rear their heads as landmarks in this immense ocean of prairie.

The Blue mountains also to-day assume a bolder and better defined outline, and we were thus enabled to mark, somewhat accurately, a number of the more prominent peaks, in order to approximate to the true position of the range. We passed to-day, twenty-five miles distant from Willow creek, the battle field of the Oregon volunteers and the Cayuse Indians. A fight occurred here in 1847, after the massacre of Dr. Whitman and his family, in the Walla-Walla valley, at the hands of the Cayuse and Walla-Walla Indians.

As an account of the massacre of that unhappy family has never, so far as I know, found place on official records, I trust it may not be deemed out of place to here insert it. The position of the battle field is marked on the map.

The story of the massacre is familiar to the early settlers of Oregon, and stands among the first of atrocious acts left unpunished and for which these savages have been never made to atone.

Dr. Whitman was a Methodist missionary, who with his family crossed the plains in 1838, and who, encountering all the dangers and suffering all the privations and vicissitudes of a long overland journey, which at that day was an undertaking of much severity, reached the waters of the Pacific and chose the beautiful valley of the Walla-Walla as the scene of his mission labors.

Here, with a creditable zeal and industry, he established his mission home among the Cayuse, Walla-Walla, and some minor fragments of tribes living along the Columbia river. He found his mission field overgrown with thorns and thistles, but not awed by the difficulties that environed his pathway, he applied himself diligently, and in a short time instead of thorns the shoots of civilization put forth, bloom, blossom, and bear fruit for many seasons, both to his own gratification and for the advancement of the ruddy savage in whose midst he had pitched his tent. Soon fields are enclosed, the sod turned, dwellings, mills and workshops erected, and a school house and church point as finger-boards to volumes of which, as yet, they could not, in the dawn of their improvement, appreciate or read a first chapter. The hum of busy, happy, and zealous settlers, make the beautiful valley of the Walla-Walla ring with joyous and glad some sounds; and with it all woman was not absent, but her presence here was necessary to lend her mild and softening influence to a scene already redolent with material that would bring gushing tears to the eyes of a Howard, and cause philanthropists generally to point with eager pride to the fruits of their endeavors.

Under the guiding hand of this successful missionary a beautiful home is soon had for his newly made wards, and the horizon looked clear; not even a passing cloud seemed to deck it that might



portend a fast approaching storm. But alas for the credulity of those who implicitly rely in the faithfulness of savages! Under the guiding hand of destiny, it so chanced that the red man was not exempt from the effects of a scourge that was then sweeping over the land. The small-pox, in all its hideous forms, made its appearance among them, and like so many bands of sheep they died by the wayside. The zealous missionary found himself sadly, but still industriously occupied at the bedside of those whom he was now disposed to regard in the light of children. His charming wife, too, acted as another Florence Nightingale, and by day and by night was not absent; but with cooling draught and words of consolation passed as an angel of mercy through these numberless, outstretched, dead and dying savage heathens, and many were saved that must have otherwise perished without succor.

But whilst these things were being enacted the superstition of the Indian is not dormant, but moves restlessly and actively on, till it ends in a tragedy that might chill the blood as it flows smoothly on, even from the hearts of those who stand boldly and prominently forward as advocates of the much abused savage.

The suspicion is had that it is the noble missionary who has been instrumental in bringing this plague in their midst, and it is suggested that a practical test be had to confirm the truth of these suspicions, to which universal agreement is had. It was designed to send two men, the one already afflicted, and the other, as they thought, not yet touched by the malady, in order that the missionary should prescribe for both. It is done, and they both return to their people to await the issue.

Some strange destiny, inexplicable to us, has determined that both shall die. The suspicion of the Indians is confirmed; the noble missionary is believed to be the cause of the raging plague, and the medicines intended to relieve their pains only hasten their death, and thus his fate is sealed. In secret they plan his death and that of his whole family. An opportune occasion arises to execute their already matured plans. At a still hour of the night, when the happy family had rested from their labors and were now reposing in peaceful slumber, not dreaming that the shadow of danger and death was fitting around their dwelling, a stalwart savage, chosen for his boldness and ferocity, armed with tomahawk, stealthily enters the chamber of the happy pair, and planting a death-dealing blow in the brain of each sends them without a struggle to a bar of judgment. Their helpless babes, males and female employés, are next slaughtered—brutally butchered—the house and tenements razed to the ground, fences torn down and destroyed, and every vestige of a once happy home caused to disappear.

A number of emigrant women, whom a late cold season had overtaken while *en route* for the Willamette from the States, and who found themselves under Whitman's roof occupying menial positions, had been saved from the general massacre, but only to become victims to the ruthless passions of a band of now frantically enraged savages,

who, not yet content with blood, have determined to retain these women as prisoners for their own base purposes.

Thus was enacted a tragedy that might well chill the blood of the warmest advocate of the Indian. But those nigh at hand were not callous regarding an act that might, if left unpunished, be soon re-enacted, with even greater ferocity, in their midst; and with a determination as worthy as it was immediate, the brave Oregon volunteers were called into the field, and, after an unsuccessful attempt, were compelled to retreat into the Dalles, and thus left unpunished an act of the veriest brutality that marked the first settlement of that distant country.

But, to continue a description of the country, having travelled a distance of thirty miles, we reached and encamped upon Butter creek, which flows through the western portion of the Umatilla valley and joins this stream some eleven miles from the point where we encamped upon it.

Seen in the distance, the Umatilla truly presented to-day a pleasant relief to our dull and monotonous march across the prairie. The Umatilla rises in the Blue mountains and flows north through a valley of extreme fertility, of from four to six miles wide, lined on either side with thick groves of cottonwood and bounded on the east and west by low well grassed prairie hills. The stream is thirty yards wide, rapid current, gravelly bottom, and good banks on either side, and empties into the Columbia about twenty-five miles below old Fort Walla-Walla. During the freshet it rises some five or six feet, and should be bridged. There is an abundance of good bridging material along its border near at hand. The Butter creek should be also bridged; the timber for which could be carried from the Umatilla, only nine miles distant.

The valleys of these two streams hold out many inducements to settlement, and will support a large population. Leaving the Butter creek on the morning of the 22d of July, we reached and crossed the Umatilla river. At its crossing are to be seen the ruins of Fort Henrietta, built by the volunteers in 1856, and so called in honor of the charming lady of Brevet Major Haller, of the United States army. Following up the right bank of the Umatilla for five miles, we reached what is called the corral, where we encamped for the night, finding good grass and an abundance of fuel, the stream being throughout thickly timbered with the cottonwood. Our distance to-day was fourteen miles from Butter creek, enabling us to make camp in good season for a meridian altitude of the sun. At our night's camp we were joined by Lieutenant Gibson, 3d artillery, who, having been left behind with one of the trains, confirmed the report brought to us yesterday that some of our draught animals had been run off by the Snake Indians, who were now in the country warring against the Cayuse and Umatillas.

We left our camp on the Umatilla early on the morning of the 23d of July, and travelling a distance of seventeen miles along its right bank, and over an easily rolling prairie, encamped again on the same stream at the forks, just above McCoy's agency, obtaining here also

a good latitude. To our right to-day, and along the hills to the west of the Umatilla, we could trace the line of the old emigrant road from the States that crosses the Blue mountains between the forks of the Umatilla. A number of settlements have been made in the valley of the Umatilla, but the Indian disturbances have been of such a character as to destroy that feeling of security so essential to permanent settlements and pleasant homes. At the forks of the Umatilla is the site of the old agency under McCoy, where abundant crops have been raised, and I am confident that a hardy and dense population must at no distant day occupy this fertile and extensive valley. Excellent grazing and fuel at our camp to-day.

Leaving the Umatilla on the morning of the 24th, and travelling eastward over an easily rolling prairie, in  $17\frac{1}{2}$  miles we reached the valley of the Wild Horse creek, a stream that flows through a low, rich, beautiful prairie bottom, well grassed, and the stream at points fringed with clumps of cottonwood. Our camp was only a few yards distant from the grave of the man who, a few days before, was brutally butchered by the Walla-Walla Indians, and to whose body was given sepulture by a detachment of dragoons under Lieutenant Pender, 1st dragoons. The murderers, at a later day in our campaign, expiated their offence upon the gallows.

Leaving the Wild Horse creek on the morning of the 25th of July, we continued over the easily rolling prairie country eastward for Fort Walla-Walla. Gaining the end or crest of the high table-land we enjoyed the magnificent panorama of the Walla-Walla valley that lay at our feet. To our right lay the bold ridge of the Blue mountains; in front the ocean of prairie, beyond which flowed the waters of the Snake river; while to our left was seen the line of the Columbia as it traced itself from point to point by the bluffs and buttes that defined its course; while within their limits lay embosomed the beautiful valley of the Walla-Walla, with the stream of the same name, with its hundreds of feeders pouring down from the mountain sides, flowing midway through the valley; while far in the distance the marks of civilized abodes, and clouds of dust raised by countless herds, bespoke our approach to thriving settlements.

The valley of the Walla-Walla may be regarded as one of the most fertile, as it is one of the most extensive, in this whole region. The river of the same name rises in the main range of the Blue mountains, and, flowing almost due west, receiving as it winds through the valley a number of considerable tributaries and feeders, each flowing through fertile bottoms, and empties into the Columbia at old Fort Walla-Walla.

The principal streams flowing into the main river are the Touchet, Mill, and Dry creeks. On all these streams, as also the main branch, are established a number of rich and flourishing farms. Mill privileges exist at every convenient point; the streams are all wooded with the cottonwood, willow, and alder; while the slopes and summits of the Blue mountains furnish the finest of pine timber. The valley, if properly cultivated, together with the cultivable section tributary to it, will support a population of not less than 15,000 people.

During the afternoon we reached our camp in the valley, which was on the Mill creek, and midway between new Fort Walla-Walla and the dragoon cantonment. The new post of Walla-Walla is on the Mill creek, in latitude  $46^{\circ}$  —, longitude —, and  $29\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of old Fort Walla-Walla, the latter having been the trading establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, and now the site of the agency of the quartermaster's department. We remained at our camp in the valley from the 26th of July until the morning of the 7th of August, organizing, equipping the command that was now about to operate against the hostile Indians. During the interval we availed ourselves of the occasion of the movement of one of our supply trains going to old Walla-Walla to accompany it, in order to make a map of the valley and to connect our work with that made by Frémont and Wilkes, especially in getting our position of old Walla-Walla to compare with theirs.

Before leaving Walla-Walla Colonel Wright sent couriers and expressmen to all the friendly Nez Percés, with instructions to meet him in council at the fort, in order that he should lay before them his wishes in their case, and to assure them, as long as their fealty was pure, that they should be protected by the strong arm of the government.

On the morning of the 4th of August, under their chief, "The Lawyer," assisted by Hutes-e-mah-li-kan, Captain John, Joseph, Speaking Eagle, Eagle from the Light, and a number of other sub-chiefs, a large delegation assembled under an arbor prepared on the council ground, when the colonel addressed them in kind but decided and positive terms, setting before them their duty, and what he should expect at their hands. Several speeches having been made by the chiefs, some thirty of these Indians volunteered to accompany the command against the hostile Indians. The accompanying sketch, made by Mr. Schon at the time, represents the Nez Percés in council.

Having completed our arrangements by the morning of the 7th of August, the first detachment of the command moved under Captain Keyes for the Snake river, there to select a crossing and choose a site for constructing a field-work in order to guard it, and, at the same time, keep open our communication with the post of Walla-Walla. We moved up the valley along the Mill creek, crossing it at the ford at the dragoon cantonment, and following it for six miles, on its right bank, we turned to the north, crossing a low prairie separating the bottom of the Mill from that of the Dry creek, and on an excellent wagon road at eight miles from the post we reached our camp upon Dry creek, finding good grass, wood, and water, which last is not running at this season but stands in shaded pools in the river bottom.

Resuming our march on the morning of the 8th, up the right bank of the Dry creek, we entered a small prairie bottom, following it for three miles to some springs which would afford a good camping ground.

On our second day's march from Walla-Walla, travelling over a comparatively easy road for eight miles, we reached the Kap-pe-ah, a small tributary to the Touchet, and flowing through a pretty valley.



Following the valley of this stream and crossing it, we reached the Touchet, which we crossed, and upon which, two miles from the crossing, we encamped. The valley of this stream is of great fertility and well wooded.

The stream at this season is about thirty yards wide and flows with a rapid current over a pebbly bed. The pine and cottonwood are found upon its borders.

Moving on the morning of the 9th, continuing still over a rolling prairie country, at a distance of three miles, we reached the small stream of Reed creek, which, rising in the prairie hills, flows through a flat prairie bottom, and, at this season, sinks into the ground; but during the spring flows into the Touchet. Finding our teams quite heavily laden, and the road needing work, we made to-day only eight miles, encamping upon the Reed creek near its head, finding here good grass and water, but only a small quantity of fuel, as no timber, save a few small willows, is found on its border.

On our returning to Walla-Walla our party followed down the valley of the Reed creek to its junction with the Touchet, which they found afforded a better road than the one we had followed southward, and which was surveyed by Mr. Kolecki. He regards it as affording a better route for our proposed military road, avoiding all steep ascents and descents.

Moving early on the morning of the 10th, we continued over the rolling prairie, gaining at a distance of four miles the high table land whence we could see the country for miles on either side of the Snake river, which, being now burnt over by the Indians, with denuded basaltic rocks, presented an appearance of sad desolation. Travelling a distance of eleven miles from the Reed creek, we struck the Toukannon three miles above its junction with the Snake river, finding an excellent wagon road. The Toukannon rises in the prairie hills, and, flowing west and northwest through a prairie valley half a mile wide, and bounded by prairie hills, discharges itself in the Snake river three miles above in the mouth of the Pelouse.

It receives one tributary from the east-northeast, called by the Nez Percés the Pah-tah-hat. The Toukannon, as also the Touchet, is an Indian name; in fact, most of the streams have Indian names, which I have adopted in preference to others, as they are not only very often very characteristic, but they often serve to retain and hand down to the latest time Indian traditions that are worthy of being preserved. Reaching our camp on the Toukannon at an early hour, Captain Keyes sent me, with a small mounted detachment, to proceed down the stream to its mouth, and examine it, as also the mouth of the Pelouse, as to the feasibility of the crossing of the Snake river and the general character of the country, and at the same time ascertain which afforded the greatest advantages in the selection of a site for a field-work. Finding the crossing at the mouth of the Toukannon good, wood and grass in abundance on its banks, my preference was given to it, which Captain Keyes, the next day, upon a personal examination, confirmed, and which he selected as the site of "Fort



Taylor," so called in honor of the lamented Captain Taylor, who fell in Steptoe's battle of May 17, 1858.

The command resting in camp on the banks of the Toukannon during the morning of the 11th, when a more detailed reconnaissance was made of the ground below, and a good wagon road opened down the Toukannon to its mouth, under the general direction of Lieutenants Morgan and Kip, 3d artillery, and every preparation made to commence our work on the Snake river.

The command moved to the banks of the Snake river on the afternoon of the 11th, where they remained engaged in building Fort Taylor, and awaiting supplies and reinforcements, until the morning of the 27th.

The accompanying plans and sketches may serve to give a correct idea of Fort Taylor, as well as the character of the country on the Snake river at the mouth of the Toukannon.

The work was built of the basaltic rock formed on the banks of the river, with hexagonal bastions of alder at the two diagonal corners, and under the direction of Major Wyse, 3d artillery, who, with his company, worked assiduously till it was completed. He was assisted from time to time by detachments of the other companies of the 3d artillery, working under charge of the company officers of that regiment. It was sufficiently large to be garrisoned by one company, and to contain all the stores left by our command.

The valley of the Toukannon, at its mouth, is half a mile wide, and bounded by the high basaltic bluffs that we named "Taylor" and "Gastin," the one to the west being called "Taylor." The Snake river, at the same point, is 275 yards wide; very deep, rapid current, but the crossing is good.

Captain Kirkham having built a large flat at this point, and with his boats, transported from Fort Walla-Walla, we were enabled to establish a ferry without difficulty. This field-work and ferry at the end of the campaign, were placed in charge of Slonarchey, a Pelouse chief, who had remained friendly during the war. A number of incidents, on the part of both friendly and hostile Indians, occurred while we lay at Fort Taylor, that served to break the monotony of camp life. While camping here we were enabled to determine quite accurately the position of Fort Taylor, and, by direction of Colonel Wright, we laid out a reservation of 640 acres up the valley of the Toukannon, which the accompanying plan will illustrate.

The command that now composed our column to operate against the hostile Indians was composed of four companies of 1st dragoons, under Major Grier; five companies of 3d artillery, under Captain Keyes; two companies of 9th infantry, under Captain Dent; and thirty friendly Nez Percés Indians, under Lieutenant Mullan—the whole under command of Colonel Wright; Major Wyse, with his company "D," having been left to garrison Fort Taylor.

All arrangements having been made and perfected by the morning of the 25th of August, Colonel Wright moved his command across Snake river without loss or accident, the crossing taking place under the personal supervision of Captain Kirkham, which occupied the

greater portion of the 25th and 26th, when, taking up our march on the 27th, we followed down the right bank of Snake river till, reaching the mouth of a cañon and crossing it, we began the ascent of the high bluffs which here formed the southern edge of the table-land lying between the Snake and Pelouse rivers. From the top of this table-land we had a fine panoramic view of the country, which to our front and right was a swelling prairie, while that near and along the Pelouse and Snake rivers was barren and rugged.

Large basaltic columns bounded the Pelouse on either side, while large beds of basalt capped the crests and tops of the hills for miles around. The road, however, passed over a well grassed prairie for three miles, when another cañon is reached. Heretofore, to avoid this cañon, the Indians have descended into the valley or cañon of the Pelouse, but this road is rocky and difficult. By travelling a quarter of a mile towards the east, we were enabled to cross this cañon quite easily, and thus once more gain the table-land, which gave us a good road for thirteen miles, when we came once more in sight of the Pelouse, which, from its mouth to within two miles of where we struck it, was to our left and from one to two and a half miles distant, and flowing through a black, broken, columnar basaltic dalle or cañon. To the west of this cañon of the Pelouse was a second and equally large one known as the cañon of the Cheranno, up which passes another trail leading to Fort Colville, and which was followed by Captain McClellan, United States engineers, in 1853, returning to Fort Dalles. This stream, as represented by him, drains a lake which the Indians call the Sil-kat-koon(?) and which joins the Pelouse nine miles above the mouth of the latter. It passes through the same black dreary region that characterizes the Pelouse near its mouth. Having travelled a distance of thirteen miles, we again came in view of the Pelouse proper, which before, although distinctly marked by its cañon, still could not otherwise be seen. It here flows through a valley a mile broad of rich prairie bottom; it is from thirty to forty yards wide and fringed on either side with willow, affording sufficient fuel for our camping purposes. The stream flows over a rocky and stony bed, with low banks, a rapid current, water now only a foot deep. The hills on the north and south are low rounded prairie bluffs or buttes, from which the basalt, in many places, is seen outcropping. The bottom of the valley is covered with rich and luxuriant grass, and a number of Indian farms at its different points bespeak its agricultural capacity.

The day was hot and dusty, and our men, in consequence, suffered severely. On the morning of the 28th August we left the Pelouse, and moving northward across its valley in a quarter of a mile reached the valley of the Cow creek or Stcap, up which we travelled for six miles, encamping at the end of this distance on its left bank.

This stream, at this season, is a small willow run, flowing through a low bottom a quarter of a mile wide and fringed with willow, which increases in size as you ascend it. Beds of basalt outcrop from the hills that bound its valley on either side; at this season it sinks into the ground, about two and a half miles north of the Pelouse; but

during the spring it joins this stream just below our camp of yesterday; good camps are found at any point of the valley, with wood and grass. The route is an easy, practicable wagon road, the first four miles passing over a well grassed plateau, on the west bank of the creek, with high rolling prairie hills to the left. Good observations for time and latitude were made at this camp. No hostile Indians in sight as yet, but the many fresh tracks of their horses show that we are fast approaching their strongholds.

The character of the country now burnt over, with accounts and appearances from all quarters that it so continued for miles to our north, with the possibility of scanty supplies of water for our trains, the lateness of the season, and the unknown rendezvous of the Indians, all caused the colonel, at this point, to hesitate and consider which route he should pursue, that direct towards the Colville crossing of the Spokane, or that to the eastward near the Falls. With the facts before him he determined upon the latter; and the wisdom of his judgment was afterwards shown as it led us into the camps of the Indians, brought about the battles of the 1st and 5th September so signally won, and was the means of putting an end to the Spokane war.

Resuming our march, therefore, on the morning of 29th August, over the hills to the east of our camp, in one and a quarter mile we reached again the high table-land, where we met the old wagon tracks of Gibson's train, made in 1854, which we followed for six miles, reaching a small spring flowing from the basaltic rocks along the side of the hills, which here forms a basin shaped depression, lined on either side by basaltic rocks. Here we halted to rest the command. From this point our march lay up a basin some three miles broad, bounded on either side by detached prairie buttes; the road in places passing over masses of black basaltic rock. The route, however, was good, and with a little risk is practicable for heavily laden wagons.

Springs of water occur along the line at six, thirteen, and nineteen miles from the Cow creek; a number of small lakes are also passed on the road. Our camp, being on one of these at a small grove of small aspen trees, received the name of the "aspen camp." Our distance travelled was 19.8 miles, good road, with excellent grass, fuel and water at night. No hostile Indians in sight during the day.

Leaving the aspen camp early on the morning of the 30th, the trains passed over the bed of a small lake now dry, and travelling eastwardly for a mile and a quarter, struck the old wagon trail made in 1855 by the late Indian agent Bolen. This we followed for six miles to a spring, where commences a basin some eight miles broad and limited on either side by high rolling prairie hills. In places it is somewhat rocky, but still practicable for wagons.

Halting here to rest our train, we moved on for six and a half miles to a number of small springs, thence our road became somewhat more difficult and rocky. In three miles more we reached a singular formation of basalt, which formed a defile at the trail a quarter of a mile wide and rising fifty feet above us, and broken off at different points, the whole formation looked not unlike the Giant's Causeway. Leaving this defile, we emerged into a broad, beautiful prairie, in which

at many points were small clumps of brushwood, indicating the presence of water.

Crossing this prairie, that extended far to the east and west, we descended into a lower and still more rocky basin, through which we travelled four miles, camping at a small lake surrounded by brush and bushes. On the march we passed a small deep lake, along the edges of which was growing a wild parsnip, from the eating of which two of our men died. Our camp afforded us good grass, wood, and water, but in a military point of view it placed us at great disadvantage. But necessity compelled us to halt here, as we could tell nothing of the character of the country in advance of us; and no better place had been reached on the march, and having travelled eighteen miles we halted and encamped.

But no sooner was camp formed before two friendly Indians rode in, informing us of the presence of the hostiles in the timber above us. Soon the discharge of rifles told that our picket guard had been fired upon, and the Indians now were making down in numbers from the hills to our east. *Boots and saddles* is sounded, and a squadron of dragoons, under Major Grier and Lieutenant Gregg, and the foot troops, under their respective commanders, all under the personal supervision of the colonel, moved forward to the attack, and after exchanging shots and a charge of three miles, drove the Indians from the field.

The pedrigue formation here, however, was very difficult, compelling a guard of near one-half the command to be mounted to keep the camp in a state of proper defence. It had been our intention to rest here on the 31st and to muster, but finding the country forbidding, and the pedrigue formation difficult for the horse and foot to operate, we determined to resume our march the next day.

We had now entered the pine region which marks the northern portion of the Great Spokane Plain or plateau. The highest point of this plateau is about twenty-five miles south of the Spokane river, lying along the southern portion of the river of the same name.

Our march of the 31st of August continued over the same character of formation in which we had made our camp, which extended either side to some two miles, and limited by lines of rolling prairie hills. Some of the small cañons to our right and left were rugged and difficult, and densely clad with the pine and undergrowth, that afforded our enemies murderous and dangerous ambushes.

The character of the country becoming somewhat easier at the end of five miles, we reached a broad deep lake, embosomed within basaltic walls from fifty to one hundred feet high, which we named the Walled Lake. From this point our road continued to ascend gradually for a mile, when we reached the highest point of the plateau, which for some miles northward is so generally level that the water falling upon it is received in a number of small lakes, many of which we passed along the route. As seen from the summit of this plateau, the country to the right was a rolling prairie, with a few pine trees scattered here and there, while that to the left presented long skirts of timber, and in places rocky. Having travelled ten and a half miles,



to the bed of two small lakes, now quite dry, the enemy made his appearance on the hills to our east, not so much with the intention to give us battle, as acting as the advanced spies for the main body, and were sent out to watch our movements, with a view of keeping their people posted.

Still, as they were in considerable force, the precautionary steps were taken by the colonel to give them battle; but not approaching us nearer than their look-out points, we moved on through the timber, and at  $12\frac{3}{4}$  miles reached a small spring, on the right of the trail, in a small willow thicket, that afforded us a refreshing drink. From this point we continued for six miles through the open pine forests, occasionally passing along the edges of small open prairies.

When leaving the pines we entered upon the edge of a gently rolling prairie at a small pond, where we made camp for the night. This is the commencement of what may be called the Upper Spokane Plain proper.

During the entire day the hostile Indians appeared on the hills to our right, and increasing in numbers; about 4 p. m., while the friendly Nez Percés were spying the country from the hill-tops, they were charged by the enemy, and must have necessarily been overpowered, had not the colonel, who, seeing it, immediately despatched a strong squadron of dragoons, under Major Grier and Lieutenant Davidson, to the rescue, who drove them from the field.

The march being resumed, the Indians again began to annoy us by attacking the rear of our column, but prompt and energetic preparation being made to receive them by Captain Keyes, then commanding at the rear, by throwing out flankers on either side, who repulsed them and drove them again from our line. Our column now moved quietly on to our camp, where we mustered and rested for the night.

During the day the grass was set on fire at many points, but which did not extend to our camp. On the morning of the 1st of September the enemy again appeared on the hills in increased force, and evidently, from signs and demonstrations, anxious to fight. The colonel determined to give him battle, which was done, and which, having been described in detail by the colonel, is set forth in his official report, and which is here appended, being extracted from the published reports of the Secretary of War. So far as the character of the ground and the different positions are concerned, the accompanying map, made at the time, sufficiently explain.

HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITION AGAINST NORTHERN INDIANS,  
*Camp at the "Four Lakes," W. T., 121 miles north of*  
*Fort Walla-Walla, August 31, 1858.*

SIR: A severe storm prevented my crossing the Snake river on the 23d and 24th, but on the 25th and 26th I made the passage with my entire command, without loss or accident, and encamped on the right bank of the river with five hundred and seventy regulars, thirty friendly Nez Percés, one hundred employés, and eight hundred animals of all kinds, with subsistence for thirty-eight days. I left Brevet Major Wyse, with his company "D," 3d artillery, to occupy



Fort Taylor, protect the stores and boats, and keep open our line of communication.

Marching from Snake river on the morning of the 27th, our route lay over a very broken country for a distance of fourteen miles, where we struck the Pelouse river, and encamped on its right bank. Re-suming our march on the 28th, I halted, after a march of six miles and a quarter, at a point where the trail divides—that to the left leading to Colville direct, and that to the right more to the eastward. After consulting our guides, and examining our maps and itineraries, I determined to march on the trail to the right; accordingly, on the 29th, we advanced; the country presented a forbidding aspect; extensive burnt districts were traversed, but at the distance of twenty miles I found a very good encampment, with sufficient grass, wood, and water. Up to this time we had *seen* no hostile Indians, although Lieutenant Mullan, my engineer officer, with our eagle-eyed allies, the Nez Percés, had been constantly in advance, and on either flank; *signs*, however, had been discovered, and I knew that our approach was known to the hostiles.

Advancing on the morning of the 30th, occasionally a few of the enemy were seen on the hill-tops on our right flank, increasing during the day, and moving parallel with our line of march, but too remote and too few in number to justify pursuit. After marching eighteen miles I encamped, and about 5 p. m. the Indians approached our pickets, and a sharp firing commenced. I immediately moved out with a portion of my command, and the Indians fled; I pursued them for four miles over a very broken country, and then returned to camp at sunset. All was quiet during the night, and at 6 this morning we were again on the march. Soon the Indians were seen in small parties at the distance of two or three miles on the hills, and moving as yesterday, with their numbers gradually increasing, and occasionally approaching a little nearer, but I did not deem them worthy of notice, only taking the precaution to halt frequently and close up our baggage and supply trains as compactly as possible. Our march this day was ten miles longer than we anticipated, and for a long distance without water; and, at two miles from this camp, the Indians made a strong demonstration on our supply train, but were handsomely dispersed and driven off by the rear guards, and infantry deployed on either flank.

My men and animals require rest; I shall remain here to-morrow; I have a good camp, with an abundance of wood, water, and grass.

The Indians, in considerable numbers, have been assembled on a high hill, about three miles distant, ever since we encamped, about 4 p. m., until now, 7 p. m., when they have retired. I shall look after them to-morrow, after my men have had a night's rest.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

*Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.*

Major W. W. MACKALL,

*Asst. Adjt. Gen., Headquarters Department of the Pacific,*

*Fort Vancouver, W. T.*

HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITION AGAINST NORTHERN INDIANS,  
*Camp at the "Four Lakes," W. T., lat. 47° 32' N.,  
 Long. 117° 39', September 2, 1858.*

SIR: I have the honor to submit the following report of the battle of the "Four Lakes," fought and won by the troops under my command on the 1st instant. Our enemies were the Spokane, Cœur d'Alenes and Pelouse Indians.

Early on the morning of the 1st I observed the Indians collecting on the summit of a high hill, about two miles distant, and I immediately ordered the troops under arms, with a view of driving the enemy from his position, and making a reconnoissance of the country in advance. At half-past 9 a. m. I marched from my camp with two squadrons of the 1st dragoons, commanded by Brevet Major W. N. Grier; four companies of the 3d artillery, armed with rifle muskets, commanded by Captain E. D. Keyes; and the rifle battalion of two companies of the 9th infantry, commanded by Captain F. T. Dent; also one mountain howitzer, under command of Lieutenant J. L. White, 3d artillery; and thirty friendly Nez Percés Indian allies, under command of Lieutenant John Mullan, 2d artillery. I left in camp all the equipage and supplies, strongly guarded by company "M," 3d artillery, commanded by Lieutenants H. G. Gibson and G. B. Dandy; one mountain howitzer, manned; and, in addition, a guard of fifty-four men, under Lieutenant H. B. Lyon; the whole commanded by Captain J. A. Hardie, the field officer of the day.

I ordered Brevet Major Grier to advance to the north and east around the base of the hill occupied by the Indians, with a view to intercept their retreat when driven from the summit by the foot troops. I marched with the artillery and rifle battalion and Nez Percés to the right of the hill, in order to gain a position where the ascent was more easy, and also to push the Indians in the direction of the dragoons. Arriving within six hundred yards of the Indians, I ordered Captain Keyes to advance a company of his battalion deployed, and drive the Indians from the hill. This service was gallantly accomplished by Captain Ord and Lieutenant Morgan with company "K," 3d artillery, in co-operation with the 2d squadron of dragoons under Lieutenant Davidson; the Indians were driven to the foot of the hill, and there rallied under cover of ravines, trees, and bushes.

On reaching the crest of the hill I saw at once that the Indians were determined to measure their strength with us, showing no disposition to avoid a combat, and firmly maintaining their position at the base of the hill, keeping up a constant fire upon the two squadrons of dragoons, who were awaiting the arrival of the foot troops. In front of us lay a vast plain, with some four or five hundred mounted warriors rushing to and fro, wild with excitement, and apparently eager for the fray; to the right, at the foot of the hill, in the pine forest, the Indians were also seen in large numbers.

With all I have described, in plain view, a tyro in the art of war could not have hesitated a moment as to his plan of battle.

Captain Keyes, with two companies of his battalion, commanded by Lieutenants Ransom and Ihrie, with Lieutenant Howard, was ordered to deploy along the crest of the hills, in rear of the dragoons, and facing the plain. The rifle battalion, under Captain Dent, composed of two companies of the 9th infantry, under Captain Winder and Lieutenant Fleming, was ordered to move to the right, and deploy in front of the pine forest; and the howitzers, under Lieutenant White, supported by a company of artillery, under Lieutenant Tyler, was advanced to a lower plateau, in order to gain a position where it could be fired with effect.

In five minutes the troops were deployed; I ordered the advance; Captain Keyes moved steadily down the long slope, passed the dragoons, and opened a sharp, well-directed fire, which drove the Indians to the plains and pine forest; at the same time Captain Dent, with the rifle battalion, Lieutenant White, with the howitzer, and Lieutenant Tyler, with his company, were hotly engaged with the Indians in the pine forest, constantly increasing by fugitives from the left.

Captain Keyes continued to advance, the Indians retiring slowly; Major Grier, with both squadrons, quietly leading his horses in rear. At a signal, they mount, they rush with lightning speed through the intervals of skirmishes, and charge the Indians on the plains, overwhelm them entirely, kill many, defeat and disperse them all; and in a few minutes not a hostile Indian was to be seen on the plain. While this scene was enacting, Dent, Winder, and Fleming, with the rifle battalion, and Tyler and White, with company "A" and the howitzer, had pushed rapidly forward and driven the Indians out of the forest beyond view.

After the charge of the dragoons, and pursuit for over a mile on the hills, they were halted, their horses being completely exhausted; and the foot troops again passed them about a thousand yards, but finding only a few Indians in front of us, on remote hill-tops, I would not pursue them with my tired soldiers. A couple of shots from the howitzer sent them out of sight. The battle was won; I sounded the recall, assembled the troops, and returned to our camp at 2 p. m.

It affords me the highest gratification to report that we did not lose a man, either killed or wounded, during the action—attributable, I doubt not, in a great measure, to the fact that our long-range rifles can reach the enemy where he cannot reach us.

The enemy lost some eighteen or twenty men killed, and many wounded.

I take great pleasure in commending to the department the coolness and gallantry displayed by every officer and soldier engaged in this battle.

1. Brevet Major Grier conducted his squadron with great skill, and at the decisive moment, after Captain Keyes had driven the Indians to the plain, made the most brilliant, gallant, and successful charge I have ever beheld. The major commends particularly the coolness and gallantry of Lieutenants Davidson, Pender, and Gregg, each in command of a troop, for the handsome and skilful manner in which they brought their men into and conducted them through the fight.

The major also speaks in the highest terms of Assistant Surgeon Randolph, who was with the second squadron during the action, exhibiting great coolness and courage, and ever ready to attend to his professional duties. Major Grier also reports the following named men of his squadrons as having been mentioned by their company commander for distinguished conduct.

"*C*" troop, *first dragoons*.—First Sergeant James A. Hall, Sergeants Bernard Horton and Patrick Byrne, bugler Robert A. Magan, and privates James Kearney and Michael Mearda.

"*E*" troop, *first dragoons*.—First Sergeant C. Goetz, Sergeant J. F. Maguire, and privates J. G. Trimbell, J. Buckley, William Ramage, and F. W. Smith.

"*H*" troop, *first dragoons*.—First Sergeant E. Ball, Sergeant M. M. Walker, and bugler Jacob Muller.

"*I*" troop, *first dragoons*.—First Sergeant William H. Ingerton and Sergeant William Dean.

Lieutenant Davidson reports of First Sergeant E. Ball: "I saw him charge upon some Indians, unhorse one of them, dismount himself and kill him."

2. Captain E. D. Keyes, commanding the third artillery, brought his battalion into action with great skill, and, after deploying, made a gallant and successful charge in advance of the dragoons, driving the Indians from the hill-sides far into the plain; and again, after the dragoon charge, Captain Keyes pushed vigorously forward in pursuit as long as an enemy was to be seen. Captain Keyes reports the gallantry of the officers and men of his battalion as admirable, and so uniform among the officers that he cannot attempt to discriminate; the position of some of the officers, however, brought their conduct under the special notice of the captain, and in that connexion he mentions Lieutenants Tyler, White and Ihrie. The captain also says: "*The activity and intelligence displayed by Lieutenant Kip, adjutant of the battalion, in transmitting my orders to all parts of the line, was most commendable.*"

3. Captain F. T. Dent, commanding the rifles, composed of two companies, "*B*" and "*E*," ninth infantry, with Captain Winder and Lieutenant Fleming, brought his battalion into action with great spirit; and after deploying on the hill, in front of the pine forest, dashed gallantly forward, and, sweeping through the woods, drove the Indians before him, and came out on the plain, forming the right wing of the whole line of foot troops. Captain Dent speaks in high terms of Captain Winder and Lieutenant Fleming, and the men of both companies, for the intelligent and fearless manner in which they behaved throughout the battle, and further says, "I feel I have a right to be proud of my battalion."

4. Lieutenant John Mullan, second artillery, topographical engineers, and commanding the friendly Nez Percés Indians, moved gallantly forward in advance, and to the right of the foot troops, in the early part of the action, giving and receiving from the enemy a volley as he skirted the brush to the east of the main hill. Lieutenant Mullan speaks in glowing terms of the conduct of the Nez Percés throughout

the action: at one time charging the enemy lurking in the brush and timber on the Spokane plain, driving him out and pursuing him beyond view; and again a small party under the chief Hutes-e-mah-li-kan and Captain John met and engaged the enemy that were endeavoring to attack our rear, recapturing a horse left by an officer while moving over the rocks and ravines. Lieutenant Mullan expresses his approbation of the good conduct generally of this band of friendly Nez Percés, and mentions *Hutes-e-mah-li-kan, Captain John, Edward, and We-ash-kot* as worthy of special notice for their bravery.

5. It affords me additional pleasure to present to the department the gentlemen on my staff: 1st Lieutenant P. A. Owen, 9th infantry, acting assistant adjutant general; 1st Lieutenant John Mullan, 2d artillery, engineer officer; Captain R. W. Kirkham, assistant quartermaster; and Assistant Surgeon J. F. Hammond, chief of the medical department.

These gentlemen were with me on the field, cool and collected, ever ready to convey my orders to every part of the line, or to attend to their professional duties as circumstance might require. Their good conduct and gallantry commends them to the department. Enclosed herewith is a topographical sketch of the battle-field, prepared by Lieutenant Mullan, illustrating the tactical part of this report.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

*Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.*

Major W. W. MACKALL, *Assistant Adjutant General,*

*Headquarters Department of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver, W. T.*

## No. 14.

### HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITION AGAINST NORTHERN INDIANS,

*Camp on the Spokane river, Washington Territory,*

*1½ mile below the Falls, September 6, 1858.*

SIR: I have the honor to submit the following report of the battle of the "Spokane plains," fought by the troops under my command on the 5th instant. Our enemies were the Spokanes, Cœur d'Alenes, Pelouses, and Pend d'Oreilles, numbering from five to seven hundred warriors.

Leaving my camp at the "Four Lakes" at 6½ a. m. on the 6th, our route lay along the margin of a lake for about three miles, and thence for two miles over a broken country, thinly scattered with pines; when emerging on to the open prairie, the hostile Indians were discovered about three miles to our right, and in advance, moving rapidly along the skirt of the woods, apparently with the view of intercepting our line of march before we should reach the timber. After halting and closing up our long pack train, I moved forward, and soon found that the Indians were setting fire to the grass at various points in front and on my right flank. Captain Keyes was now directed to



advance three of his companies, deployed as skirmishers, to the front and right; this order was promptly obeyed, and Captain Ord, with company "K," Lieutenant Gibson, with company "M," and Lieutenant Tyler, with company "A," 3d artillery, were thrown forward. At the same time Captain Hardie, company "G," 3d artillery, was deployed to the left, and howitzers, under Lieutenant White, supported by company "E," 9th infantry, under Captain Winder, were advanced to the line of skirmishers. The firing now became brisk on both sides—the Indians attacking us in front and on both flanks. The fires on the prairie nearly enveloped us, and were rapidly approaching our troops and the pack train. Not a moment was to be lost. I ordered the advance. The skirmishers, the howitzers, and 1st squadron of dragoons, under Brevet Major Grier, dashed gallantly through the roaring flames, and the Indians were driven to seek shelter in the forest and rocks. As soon as a suitable position could be obtained, the howitzers, under White, opened fire with shells; the Indians were again routed from their cover, closely pursued by our skirmishers, and followed by Grier with his squadron leading. At this time our pack train was concentrated as much as possible, and guarded by Captain Dent, 9th infantry, with his company "B," Lieutenant Davidson, 1st dragoons, with his company "E," and Lieutenant Ihrie, 3d artillery, with his company "B," advancing; the trail bore off to the right, which threw Ord and Tyler, with their skirmishers, to the left. A heavy body of Indians had concentrated on our left, when our whole line moved quickly forward, and the firing became general throughout the front, occupied by Ord, Hardie, and Tyler, and the howitzers, under White, supported by Winder, with Gregg's troop of dragoons following in rear, waiting for a favorable opportunity to make a dash. At the same time Gibson, with company "M," 3d artillery, drove the Indians on the right front. An open prairie here intervening, Major Grier passed the skirmishers with his own and Lieutenant Pender's troops, and charged the Indians, killing two and wounding three. Our whole line and train advanced steadily, driving the Indians over rocks and through ravines. Our point of direction having been changed to the right, Captain Ord found himself alone with his company on the extreme left of the skirmishers, and opposed by a large number of the enemy; they were gallantly charged by Captain Ord, and driven successively from three high table rocks, where they had taken refuge. Captain Ord pursued the Indians until, approaching the train, he occupied the left flank. In this movement, Captain Ord was assisted by Captain Winder and Lieutenants Gibson and White, who followed into the woods after him.

Moving forward towards the Spokane river, the Indians still in front, Lieutenants Ihrie and Howard, with company "B," 3d artillery, were thrown out on the right flank, and instantly cleared the way; and after a continuous fight for seven hours, over a distance of fourteen miles, we encamped on the banks of the Spokane, the troops exhausted by a long and fatiguing march of twenty-five miles, without water, and for two-thirds of the distance under fire. The battle was won, two chiefs and two brothers of the chief Garey killed, besides many of lesser note

either killed or wounded. A kind Providence again protected us, although at many times the balls flew thick and fast through our ranks; yet, strange to say, we had but one man slightly wounded.

Again it affords me the highest pleasure to bear witness to the zeal, energy, perseverance, and gallantry displayed by the officers and men during this protracted battle.

1. Brevet Major W. N. Grier, commanding a squadron of the 1st dragoons, composed of his own company and that of Lieutenant Pender, made a gallant charge at the right mount, killing two and wounding three of the enemy. The major speaks in the highest terms of the gallantry of Lieutenant Pender, commanding company "C." Lieutenant Davidson, with company "E," was rear guard to the general train, and that duty was well performed. Lieutenant Gregg, with company "H," was posted in rear of the howitzers, with a view of making a dash at the enemy; but the ground was so broken that dragoons could not operate effectively.

2. Captain E. D. Keyes, 3d artillery, commanding battalion, persevering, energetic, and gallant throughout the whole day; although his troops extended over a mile, yet the captain was always in the right place at the right time. Captain Keyes reports the following companies and officers as particularly distinguished:

Company K, Captain E. O. C. Ord and Lieutenant M. R. Morgan.

Company G, Captain J. A. Hardie and Lieutenant Ransom.

Company M, Lieutenants Gibson and Dandy.

Company A, Lieutenants Tyler and Lyon.

The howitzer battery, under Lieutenant White, with a detachment of twenty men belonging to company D, 3d artillery, behaved most gallantly throughout the action; light shells were thrown into the midst of the enemy during the fight, and with good effect.

The conduct of Lieutenant Kip, adjutant of the battalion, is noted by Captain Keyes as having been excellent throughout the day.

3. The rifle battalion, companies B and E, 9th infantry, under Captain F. T. Dent.

Captain Dent, with his company, was on the rear guard to protect the pack train; this duty was handsomely performed, and the train moved along unharmed by the enemy or the fires.

Captain Winder was detached, with Lieutenant Fleming and company E, to support the howitzer battery. This service was admirably performed, bravely advancing with the howitzers, and pouring in a fire with their rifles, wherever an opportunity offered, until the close of the battle.

4. The friendly Nez Percés were employed chiefly as spies and guides, and, towards the close of the action, in guarding the pack train and animals; as usual, they behaved well.

During the battle a chief was killed, and on his body was found the pistol worn by the lamented Gaston, who fell in the affair with Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe, in my last.

Again I have the pleasure of presenting to the department the gentlemen of my staff:

1st. Lieutenant P. A. Owen, adjutant 9th infantry, and acting assistant adjutant general.

1st. Lieutenant J. Mullan, 2d artillery, engineer officer, and commanding friendly Indians.

Captain R. W. Kirkham, assistant quartermaster.

Assistant Surgeon J. F. Hammond, United States army.

Assistant Surgeon J. F. Randolph, United States army.

These gentlemen were all on the field, cool, energetic and brave, whether conveying my orders to distant points of the line or attending to their professional duties. A memoir and topographical sketch of the field by Lieutenant Mullan, acting engineer officer, is herewith enclosed. Very respectfully,

G. WRIGHT,

*Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.*

Major W. W. MACKALL,

*Asst. Adj. Gen., Headquarters Department of the Pacific,*

*Fort Vancouver, Washington Territory.*

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No. 15.

HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITION AGAINST NORTHERN INDIANS,  
*Camp on the Spokane river, W. T., 16 miles above the "Falls,"*

*September 9, 1858.*

SIR: I remained during the 6th at my camp, three miles below the falls, as my troops required rest after the long march and battle of the previous day. No hostile demonstrations were made by the enemy during the day; they approached the opposite bank of the river in very small parties and intimated a desire to talk, but no direct communication was held with them, as the distance was too great and the river deep and rapid.

Early on the morning of the 7th I advanced along the left bank of the Spokane, and soon the Indians were seen on the opposite side, and a talk began with our friendly Nez Percés and interpreters. They said that they wanted to come and see me with the chief Garey, who was near by. I told them to meet me at the ford, two miles above the falls.

I halted at the ford and encamped; soon after Garey crossed over and came to me; he said that he had always been opposed to fighting, but that the young men and many of the chiefs were against him, and he could not control them. I then told him to go back and to say to all Indians and chiefs, "I have met you in two bloody battles; you have been badly whipped; you have lost several chiefs and many warriors killed or wounded. I have not lost a man or animal; I have a large force, and you Spokanes, Cœur d'Alenes, Pelouses, and Pen d'Oreilles may unite, and I can defeat you as badly as before. I did not come into this country to ask you to make peace; I came here to fight. Now when you are tired of the war, and ask for peace, I will tell you what you must do: You must come to me with your arms, with your women and children, and everything you have, and lay them

at my feet; you must put your faith in me and trust to my mercy. If you do this, I shall then dictate the terms upon which I will grant you peace. If you do not do this, war will be made on you this year and next, and until your nation shall be exterminated."

I told Garey that he could go and say to all the Indians that he might fall in with what I had said, and also to say that if they did as I demanded no life should be taken. Garey promised to join me the following (yesterday) morning on the march.

After my interview with Garey, the chief Polotkin, with nine warriors, approached and desired an interview. I received them. I found this chief was the writer of one of the three letters sent to you by Congiato; that he had been conspicuous in the affair with Colonel Steptoe, and was the leader in the battles of the 1st and 5th instant with us; they had left their rifles on the opposite bank. I desired the chief and warriors to sit still while two of his men were sent over to bring me the rifles. I then told this chief that I desired him to remain with me, with one of his men whom we recognized as having been lately at Walla-Walla with Father Ravelle, and who was strongly suspected of having been engaged in the murder of the two miners in April last. I told the chief that I wished him to send his other men, and bring in all of them with their arms and families. I marched at sunrise on the morning of the 8th, and at the distance of nine miles discovered a cloud of dust in the mountains to the front and right, and evidently a great commotion in that quarter. I closed up the train and left it guarded by a troop of horse and two companies of foot, and I then ordered Major Grier to push rapidly forward with three companies of dragoons, and I followed with the foot troops. The distance proved greater than was expected, deep ravines intervening between us and the mountains; but the dragoons and Nez Percés, under Lieutenant Mullan, were soon seen passing over the first hills. The Indians were driving off their stock, and had gone so far into the mountains that our horsemen had to dismount, and, after a smart skirmish, succeeded in capturing at least eight hundred horses; and when the foot troops had passed over the first mountain, the captured animals were seen approaching under charge of Lieutenant Davidson, with his men on foot, and the Nez Percés. The troops were then re-formed and moved to this camp, I having previously sent an express to the pack train to advance along the river. After encamping last evening I investigated the case of the Indian prisoner suspected of having been engaged in the murder of the two miners; the fact of his guilt was established beyond doubt, and he was hung at sunset.

After sunset last evening I sent two companies of foot and a troop of horse three miles up the river to capture a herd of cattle, but they were so wild that it was found impossible to drive them in; another attempt was made this morning, but they could not be obtained.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. WRIGHT,

*Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.*

Major W. W. MACKALL,

*Ass't Adj't. Gen., Headquarters Department of the Pacific,*

*Fort Vancouver, W. T.*

The following letter, written to Mr. Mix, then acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shows that the acts of the friendly Indians should be long remembered, and gives in some detail the peculiar condition of Indian affairs in the two northwest Territories, and is taken from the published report of the Commissioner:

CAMP AT THE FOUR LAKES,  
*Spokane Plains, Washington Territory,*  
September 5, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR: I deem it a duty that I owe both you and myself, in view of the present active Indian hostilities in which we are now engaged, in view of the complicated and much misrepresented difficulties of the past, and I fear the threatening disturbances of the future, to write you to put you in possession of views and facts that can be only learned by those in the country; and I am sufficiently confident to believe, from my former connexion with Indian affairs, that my letter will meet at *your* hands, at least, some favor.

Immediately after Colonel Steptoe's defeat I wrote you, giving at that time such facts and views as were pertinent, reserving to myself the privilege of adding to and modifying them as circumstances might determine. There is no longer need to conceal the truth. We are in the midst of another Indian war, fraught with what results and of what duration the future alone must tell. How these difficulties originated, whence they sprung, is a long, long story, and requires a greater length than my letter can give; suffice it to say that I regard the present difficulty as only another link in the same chain that has been but too often brought to the notice of the Indian department. The department has had *facts* reported to it from time to time by those passing through and those living in the country, and I am far from believing that either the Indian Commissioner or the Secretary of the Interior has paid a deaf ear to these representations; but, on the contrary, must and do believe that each in his sphere has done his duty, and the onus of responsibility must rest with Congress.

The time no longer exists when passiveness is to be the rule of action in this region. Special cases require special remedies, and an old, effete, worn out system no longer is applicable to the state of affairs in this quarter.

The wave of civilization from the east in times past drove the Indian westward before it; but in ten years how changed! That wave is now moving with an equal if not increasing rapidity eastward from the Pacific. While in the south the Indian no longer reposes in his once quiet home, but driven in all directions, it is in this region alone that we must and shall hereafter have our great Indian conflicts. The population that has poured for the last ten years into the northwest is now demanding a new exodus for its already redundant numbers, and all point to this region as the future locale of their homes. The population hitherto pent up westward of the Cascade mountains' barrier has suddenly broken loose through a new golden gate, and now begins to swarm over a hitherto deserted region. The English



and American governments, by their commissioners, in marking a line of boundary for each along the 49th parallel, are fast developing a region in which not one people, but *two great nations* are now feeling an interest; and the difficulties in our interior along the Salt Lake route, which have for the last three years completely blockaded our emigrant road, and put far asunder the two extremes of our country, are being fast ameliorated, and soon must an emigration of three years' growth rush into this region, offering them now so many golden inducements. Can we, then, I say, in view of these things, longer rest inactive, and allow fires to spread in immense magazines ready for the burning? For the last three years the cry from this coast has been "Indian wars! Indian wars!" "Give us remedy for our disease;" "Give us protection ample to our purpose." "So arrange affairs with our Indians that our peaceful frontier settlements shall no longer be open preys to insensate savages." But to all their cries a deaf ear has been turned; and I am in a measure not surprised, because at that time our highest military authority, General Wool, proclaimed publicly that no war existed, when at the same moment villages were being burned and razed to the ground; men, women, and children butchered, and desolation was overspreading the land. For facts, look to southern Oregon; look on Puget's Sound; and look in our interior, and they come up in volumes. All I can say is, I sincerely trust that those who have so proclaimed these things may *only* have committed errors of judgment. Let them explain the whys and wherefores, if they exist. I know, in giving expression to such views and sentiments, that I censure harshly a man high in position, but the vindication of truth compels me to the position. Are we then to have re-enacted scenes with which 1855 and 1856 were so replete?—scenes that cost many valuable lives and a debt of unpaid millions. By some the *people* were charged with bringing on the last war; by others *treaties* made with Indians were the cause. But where will these same persons find causes now sufficient to justify such views? Here is a case solely of a United States force moving through a region of country inhabited by Indians with whom no definite or specific treaty was made, moving under an officer high in rank, high in reputation, on a pacific expedition, and most unprovokedly and savagely attacked. How, I ask again, will those having views above mentioned justify *now* their position? No, the disease lies still deeper, and unless we strike the root we shall never be enabled to cure the malady. The seeds for a more serious war are being sown, which only the strong arm of the War Department *must* finally put down.

There are but two alternatives left to us in this region. The past confirms it, and the present still further strengthens it. The one is a well adjusted, prudent peace policy, carried out by men alive and equal to their duties, honest to the Indian and the department, and who fill positions neither for position nor gain's sake; the other is the force of arms, wisely but vigorously applied. The Indian is a creature of timidity on the one hand and cupidity on the other; and when these two elements of his nature are ignored, the Indian char-

acter is not known. We must therefore cater to, and cater for each. Such being the case, the only manner in which difficulties can arise will be the manner of the administration of each. How these are managed I leave for the history of the past to reply. It is not my province either to set myself up as a general critic or put myself in a position where truth, left too naked, might cause many high in position to blush for errors of judgment and errors of action. I would prefer to leave the past, both as enacted by our military and civil authorities, to oblivion, save as showing the wherefore of some of our Indian troubles in this quarter.

The Indian history of this region is different from that of any in any other quarter of our country. The country was thrown open to settlement before any preparation was made for their reception—before the Indian title was extinguished; and hence alone, in my judgment, the cause for *most* of our Indian troubles in this region. I am not forgetful, of course, of the great natural cause—the contact of the red and white man—that our history for two centuries past proclaims to be the great radical cause of our Indian warfares.

But in this region, to this great first cause, is superadded causes that in themselves *alone* have been sufficient to light in one lurid flame of war our whole Pacific slope, that might have long since exterminated its whole white population.

Those seeing these things at a still later day, and being in position to avert them by a wise, discreet policy for ourselves, and a just one for the Indian, set to work, and from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific coast labored hard and long in the field and office, travelling through every Indian tribe, learning their history and wants, and with the authoritative voice of the government made three years ago treaties with these northwestern Indians; and to this day the labors of Governor Stevens are disregarded and uncared for, and the treaties containing the solemn promises of the Indian on the one side and binding obligations of the government on the other lie among the dusty archives of Congress, while a war rages in every quarter of the northwest coast. The Indians feel that their rights have been trifled with by promises, made by agents armed and vested with authority to act, which the government has not ratified. And will it, I ask, longer remain in this passive mood? Will it longer act inertly while lives are sacrificed and millions squandered, and still longer hesitate to act? For one, I trust not. Let these be ratified; let the country be thrown open to our people; let the Indians have sent among them good, honest, upright agents; let school houses and churches be erected, fields enclosed, farming utensils and the implements and seeds of civilization be introduced, and I boldly predict that ere many years have passed away, instead of finding one vast field of desolation, we shall be proud to point from this stand-point, where an ever-to-be-remembered battle has been fought, to many green spots to the north and south, east and west.

Like an immense monster of desolation to these Indians the waves of civilization are fast approaching them, and ere long, unless prompt

and speedy measures be taken for their security and safety, must engulf and destroy them. Who, then, is to raise the averting arm?

Since men from afar are sent to this region to study and find out what I see around me daily and momentarily, I trust what is given with but little labor and without price will meet with favor, especially as there are officers high in position here who endorse my views. In the above I refer to the mission of Mr. Mott to this quarter. I have learned the object of his mission, and wish it well; and I can but hope, and am led to believe, that Mr. Mott must be a man whose past history has been such as to bring him sufficiently close to Indian tribes to know full well Indian character. To know the Indian you must be with him; to know his worth it must be tested; to know his treachery it must be felt. Remember the war that now exists has its seat and its focus at the point whence I now write you. It is not my province to give you the details of a battle of which this point has been the scene, fought by Colonel Wright against three hundred or four hundred Indians; for these you will doubtless get from the journals of the day with as much correctness as I might give them. Suffice it for me to say he has fought a memorable, never to be forgotten fight; since he killed, discomfited, and drove in dismay the enemy from the field without sustaining a single loss to his command. He marches from this point to-morrow, armed with a determination to carry the war boldly and vigorously into the enemy's country; and though the campaign in which we are now engaged may not be completed this season, still I believe a blow has been struck that foreshadows the views and determination of the Department of War. It is now for Congress to say, and to say *soon*, what course shall be pursued to establish a permanent peace with the Indian tribes. A temporizing peace policy has signally failed, and now the *inaction of Congress* and dire necessity compels us to drive, with powder and ball, our enemy before us.

But allow me, my dear sir, while this general war is going on, to point you to at least a few green spots where the ravages of war do not as yet extend, and which thus far are untainted and unaffected, with a view of so retaining them that we may hereafter point to them as oases in this desert of war. These green spots are the Nez Percés, the Flatheads, and Pend d'Oreilles; and in this connexion I refer to an act of Colonel Wright which embodies views and motives which, endorsed and carried out by the government, must redound to his credit and praise, and be the means of building up, at no distant day, a bold, brave, warlike, and numerous people. Before leaving Fort Walla-Walla, with a view of retaining the friendship of a powerful tribe and preventing a general coalition and combination of tribes, and a *fire in our rear*, which if once commenced must end in our total destruction, Colonel Wright assembled the Nez Percés people, told them his object was to war with and punish our enemies, but as this great people were and ever had been our friends that he wanted their friendship to be as enduring as the mountains around which they lived; and in order that no difference of views or difficulty might arise that their mutual promises should be recorded, and with this

view he made a treaty of *friendship alone*, and thirty bold warriors, marshalling themselves under brave war chiefs, were placed at his disposal to assist him in finding and fighting his enemy. This is the same people who, meeting the flying columns of Colonel Steptoe in hot night-retreat, having abandoned animals, provisions, and guns, behind them, received him with open arms, succored his wounded men, and crossed in safety his whole command over the difficult and dangerous south fork of the Columbia, at a time when no other means whatever to outreach a foe, who, already triumphant with success, had determined his complete destruction. Here, then, is an instance in Indian history that must and will long stand on record, not to be forgotten. Colonel Wright, on entering their country, was not unmindful of this noble act, when we might—aye, justly, too—have anticipated a lurking foe in that same tribe, and he took such measures as to keep their friendship. It is now for you to say whether this shall be inviolable.

They have no agent *who lives among* them. They are far advanced already in civilization—much further than any tribe west of the Rocky mountains, except the Flatheads. They are inclined to agriculture; already raise wheat, corn, and vegetables, with the rudest of means. When asked by Colonel Wright what they wanted, their reply was well worthy of a noble race: "*Peace, ploughs, and schools.*" And will you, can you, longer refuse them these? I ask, therefore, to commend these noble people. I ask that a special appropriation be made to give these people schools, farms, and seeds; that means be taken to so build them up in their mountain homes that we may be enabled to point with joyous pride to a first few tutored savages in the Rocky mountains reclaimed from their wild, nomadic habits; and while asking, aye, *petitioning*, for these, I cannot forget my old mountain friends, the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles. As yet they are friendly, and I ask that you retain their friendship. I made both to Governor Stevens and to yourself, four years ago, petitions in their favor; but, alas! they passed unheeded. I again renew them, and ask that steps, prompt and efficient, be taken that will avert from these noble bands the devastating arm of war. I ask not that *my* version be taken alone, but simply ask that it go to form part and parcel of versions given by abler pens, and men who saw but to reflect upon the past and future destiny of the Indians. I point you, commencing with Lewis and Clarke in 1804 to the present day, to the accounts of all travellers across the continent; and with one accord they point to the Nez Percés and Flatheads as two bright, shining points in a long and weary pilgrimage across a prairie desert and rugged mountain barrier, alive with savage hordes of Indians, where they have been relieved and aided when most in need; and instances sufficiently numerous to swell a volume exist that render it needless for me here to refer to them. But I make one more appeal in behalf of these people. My duties and labors have brought me often and long in contact with them, and I instance now not views or judgments, but facts that should speak sufficiently loud to reach the ears of our government at Washington in thundering tones and arouse them to a

course of bold, energetic, praiseworthy action that will speedily and radically remedy a disease that is fast devouring a people once numerous on our western slopes.

A state of things so entirely different from anything east of the Rocky mountains exists in this region that an attempt to describe it ends in futility. Far distant points to be reached; long lines of transportation; only one superintendent in regions requiring at least *one whole year* to visit. And where are his headquarters? In the southern portion of the Willamette valley, in a quiet, peaceful, civilized spot, where Indians are not and war rages not, while hundreds of miles and thousands of Indians are left unvisited and unseen. Has the superintendent of Indian affairs ever *seen* the Indians against whom we are now moving? No! not one. *He cannot*. Could he accomplish impossibilities, it would have been done, doubtless. I say this: Have these Indians an agent? No. What can you then expect? On the one hand we have a Territory thundering at the doors of Congress, demanding as her right her admittance to an equality with the States of the Union; while on the other Indian wars are raging, Indian titles unextinguished, and no preparations made for a position for her people.

It is not my province or my desire to point out any course to be followed for fear of laying myself open both to criticism and censure. But I boldly, and fearlessly, and honestly say that *one* superintendent, with his headquarters at Salem, in Oregon, is not equal to the task of performing the responsible duties of superintendent for so many thousands of Indians. If *one* man could perform the labors that would keep *three* men most actively and daily engaged, *then* he could do it; but at present, not. But, my dear sir, I will not tax you further, though I could and might say much more. I most sincerely trust that the Secretary of War may so regard my work and movements as to enable me to visit Washington this coming winter; and if such should be the case, we can then give expression to such views as circumstances *now* so full of meaning may by that time develop; but feeling, as I do, an interest in the future of tribes concerning whom I have been enabled to learn much, I could not remain silent when by speaking good might result.

Hoping to meet you the coming winter, I am, my dear sir, your friend,

JOHN MULLAN.

CHARLES E. MIX, Esq.,

*Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.*

On a more thorough examination of the country we found ourselves at four beautiful lakes in the Spokane plain, skirted by beautiful open pine forests, which immediately suggested a name, and hence the colonel called his battle that of the "Four Lakes."

In order to rest both men and animals, and prepare despatches to be sent to the settlements, we tarried here till the morning of 5th September, which afforded us an excellent opportunity to determine with some accuracy the position of the Four Lakes, and work up our



material collection on the route. Our camp was in good grass, with wood and water. The pine here growing, is tall and straight, and when the day arrives for this region to be settled, it will be brought into requisition for building purposes. Resuming our march for the Spokane river early in the morning of the 5th September, our route lay along the eastern edge of the largest of the Four lakes.

About a mile from camp, on gaining the summit of one of the prairie buttes, we had a fine view of the Spokane plains; which to the north-east and west were bounded by lines of high timbered hills. The Spokane river running at the southern foot of the hills or butts, seen to our north. The southern portion of the plain is skirted by a strip of timber some five miles broad. This plain is rich and fertile, well grassed, with small clumps of timber, pine and cottonwood at detached points.

The enemy in numbers greater than yesterday, again made his appearance to our east, on the hills, and through the timber; and though badly whipped the day before, determined upon giving us battle again.

Preparations and dispositions being again made by the colonel, a second battle on the "buttes of the Spokane plains" was fought and won; regarding the details of which the colonel's following official report gives it in full.

The Indians, after leaving the prairie, continued the fight in the timber, and we moved on, driving them before us, until we reached the Spokane river, no water being found on the whole line; our march being twenty-seven miles, when we encamped on the left bank of the stream, finding scanty grass for our animals, but water and fuel in abundance. The latter part of our route was somewhat difficult, owing to the timber and rocks.

We found the Spokane where we struck it a stream fifty yards wide, lined on either side with strips and forests of pine, and flowing with a rapid current; water from three to four feet deep, over a pebbly bed, with banks gradually sloping on either side to some fifty feet high, when the high water land, or what is here known as the Cœur d'Alène prairie, is reached.

Following through the timber for a mile along the left bank of the Spokane river, we encamped for the night. Our enemy no longer annoyed us, having driven him in dismay and discomfit for fifteen miles before us, leaving many killed and wounded on the field, with his property scattered in every direction; and they now broken in small groups for miles around, it became time for them to consider their position. Our men and animals, much fatigued with a long march and harassing fight, rested in camp on the 6th of September.

Finding that the Indians were to our east with their families and camps, and that they evidently intended to take flight to the mountains, the colonel determined to move up the river, and for this purpose the following day was spent, by his direction, in the examination of the river, in order to find a good ford to cross the command. But finding, at and below our camp, the stream not proving fordable, we determined to continue our march along the left bank of the

Spokane to one of the principal fords above, our camp having been one mile below the mouth of the Lahtoo or Neduhuald, or Camass Prairie creek, and about three and a half miles from the Upper or Great Falls of the Spokane.

To our north, across the river, lay the broad Cœur d'Alène prairie; to our east and south the high frusted hills; while to our west were had a series of extensive plains of different levels.

The morning of the 7th September found us in motion along the left bank of the Spokane, through the timber for a mile, when we reached the Lahtoo, now dry, but which, by its cut-banks and rocky bed, gave evidence of the volume and force of water that must course through it during the spring, or freshet season.

This is a great fishing point for the Indians, as shown by the number of *barriers* in the bed of the stream for catching salmon. The hills and plains around afford fine grazing for their large bands of stock. Fuel from the large pine forests is had in abundance; while nature furnishes them with shoals of the fatest salmon. The salmon ascend this stream to the Upper Falls, that are two and a half miles above the Lahtoo; but during high water they even pass beyond these falls to the very mountains.

The Spokane Falls are formed by the whole volume of the Spokane river dashing over an inclined ledge of rocks, giving a total fall of from forty to fifty feet. The river is here fifty yards wide, water clear and limpid, and flowing through a basaltic trough or dalle. In passing around the falls the view is shut out for some distance, when again coming in sight of the river the effect is quite magical; for the stream which but a few moments before was far below us, is suddenly on a line with our feet, we in the meanwhile travelling on the same level plain. The pine, too, now gives place to fringes of cottonwood and willow, and the stream flows through, as it were, a beautiful, flat, and extensive meadow land.

Travelling six miles from our camp of yesterday, we reached a ford, though deep. Here we halted and encamped on the left bank, and owing to circumstances that developed themselves at this point, the colonel determined not to cross the river here, but to continue for some miles above to a second ford, which was better, and the wisdom of his course was the next day shown; for having started early on the morning of the 8th of September across the beautiful plain along the left bank of the Spokane, which plain is here, in fact, only a portion of the Cœur d'Alène prairie proper, it being divided by the course of the Spokane river, he came upon and overtook a camp, which, with their large bands of stock, were fleeing to the mountains. After a pursuit of eight miles and a slight skirmish, the Indians were made to fly, leaving behind them some nine hundred horses and a number of stock. These last were taken without loss or accident. This occurred at a small lake in the prairie south of the Spokane river, which lake, in honor of the veteran whose services were here as elsewhere during the campaign, so marked and brilliant, we have called Lake Grier. The command moving towards the Spokane river from Lake Grier, encamped upon its left bank for the night, after a march of

fourteen and a half miles, finding good grass, wood, and water. The following report gives all the details regarding this capture:

It becoming necessary to remain in camp the 10th and 11th of September, we built a corral, in which to kill the large band of horses captured from the enemy. It was not our desire to keep any, except a few of the best for packing or riding purposes, as this large band would only encumber us; but as our desire was to strike a blow that should teach the Indians a never-to-be-forgotten lesson, it was decided to kill them. So driving them in a corral, eight hundred beautiful animals were shot, in addition to a number of horned stock captured from the enemy, together with burning a number of dwellings and barns of grain. This camp was appropriately termed the "Horse Slaughter Camp." Here we received notification of the friendship of the people of Big Star. The Cœur d'Alenes having found themselves vanquished, now sued for peace through Father Joset, one of the Jesuit priests at the Cœur d'Alene mission. This and other things determined the colonel upon his next line of direction, which was to cross the Spokane at its upper ford on the morning of the 11th, and to continue along its right bank to the Cœur d'Alene lake. This lead us over an easy prairie road for two and a half miles, where the road forked, one leading across the Cœur d'Alene prairie to the Clark's fork of the Columbia, and the other through the open pine timber along the right bank of the Spokane river. Taking this last and travelling thirteen and a half miles, we reached the western end of the Cœur d'Alene lake, passing at a few points small patches of prairie sufficiently large for camping purposes. About twelve miles below the lake the river makes another fall, passing through a deep and narrow rocky gorge some thirty yards wide, in a beautiful sheet of white foam. Below this point it flows sluggishly for a number of miles. This is also the case above the falls, forming here almost a continuation of the lake. On our route the river was hid from view for seven miles, when we struck it again at some Indian fields, which we destroyed, burning here also two or three barns of wheat, thus marking our line by signs, the intent of which the Indians could not mistake. From these fields to the lake was four miles, when, reaching a small prairie bottom, with sparse grass, we encamped for the night at the edge of the pine forests. We passed along the route a small Indian burial-ground, where the marks of civilized and Christian influence were shown by the number of crosses erected over the graves; and though our march was one of devastation through the country, we left unharmed and untouched the spot where reposed the lifeless dead.

Up to the end of the lake we had run our odometer line continuously from Fort Dallas without accident to our wagon, though it had passed through some ugly and difficult places; but by the uniform kindness of Captains Keyes and Dent, who often voluntarily sent their men to its aid and rescue, we were enabled to get it through thus far safely. But now we were about entering a somewhat difficult portion of the Cœur d'Alene mountains, where the timber was thick, and where an Indian trail alone marked the route, and it was my purpose to leave

it at this point; and in case we retraced our steps to recover it, and in case we passed to the south of the lake, we could send some friendly Indians in their canoes, who taking it apart could cross it, and we be thus enabled to resume our line.

We therefore abandoned it, but the hostile Indians coming upon our rear the next day, burnt it, and thus saved us any further anxiety in the case. Our mountain howitzers, under Lieutenant White, that had also run on wheels thus far, had to be backed on mules, leaving behind only a prairie limber, which met with the same fate as the wagon.

Resuming our march on 12th September, we followed an Indian trail along the Cœur d'Alene lake for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles, where we began the ascent of a high steep limestone mountain, from which at different points were exposed large masses of beautiful marble. Gaining the summit of this hill we enjoyed a fine view of this Cœur d'Alene lake, which here is a beautiful sheet of water, three miles broad, with an arm extending as far south as the eye could see. Immediately along the shores of the lake the water is shallow, with a rocky or pebbly bottom, the water, however, becoming deep at no great distance. The lake is bounded on every side by high, rugged pine clad mountains, that render the whole a unique picturesque panorama. Leaving this hill, our road passing alternately through open pine forests and rugged undergrowth, ascending and descending; in  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles from our camp, we reached a small stream heading in a spring along the road, in a deep hollow or ravine, which stream empties or flows into a small lake, which last connects by a small stream with the Cœur d'Alene lake.

Leaving this spring, in two miles through pine timber, we reached a small beautiful prairie covered with rich luxuriant grass, through which flowed a considerable stream lined with willow; water cold and flowing rapidly. This prairie offered a good camping ground, and is the only one between the western end of the Cœur d'Alene lake and the Missouri. It is bounded on all sides by low pine clad hills or mountains, and affords in this immense bed of mountains a beautiful resting place, where we halted for the night. The stream flowing through this prairie is called the "Wolf's-lodge creek."

Our animals having enjoyed at this point a rich feed of grass, in the morning of 13th September, at an early hour, we resumed our march for the Cœur d'Alene mission. Our trail entering the pine forests along difficult side hills, which we followed for a distance of seven miles, passing a small stream or spring run, affording sufficient water for our men and animals. The road throughout this length was much obstructed by fallen timber.

Resting a short time at the end of these seven miles, we resumed our march, still continuing along difficult side hills and over fallen timber, the last portion being along the sides or edges of rocky limestone, slate and sandstone spurs. At the end of this distance we were repaid by the view of the prairie where is situate the beautiful valley of the Cœur d'Alene mission. The timber along the road to-day was not of a large growth, but the forests here of fir, cedar, and hemlock

are very dense and the strong winds of winter throwing down the trees across the pathway, and the natural indolence of the Indians being such as not to allow them to remove it, of course it accumulates from year to year so as to form an entangling network of trees, crossing and recrossing each other in every possible direction. At sixteen miles from the "Wolf's lodge creek" we reached the mission, which here lies as a gem embosomed in the mountains, and gives evidence of the labors of that indefatigable band of Jesuit fathers who braving all dangers and surmounting all difficulties, have gone forth to the mountain fastnesses to proclaim the gospel to the benighted heathen savage, as well as to improve his temporal condition. They have here erected a large and stately church, planned by, and mostly constructed under the direction of the Reverend Father Ravalli, an Italian and a former professor of chemistry and philosophy in the Jesuit college in Rome. Dwellings, mills, barns, and enclosures, with Indian labor have been made, and everything bespoke an advancement in improvement and civilization that was truly refreshing to behold; all this, too, with the most scanty means and under difficulties before which the hearts of the bravest might truly quail. Various accounts have been given as to the history of the name, Cœur d'Alene, as applied to the Indians.

The version given me, and which would appear to be reliable, is as follows: When the English trading corporation, known as the Hudsons Bay Company monopolized that whole region of Oregon, their successes in establishing trading stations among the Indians was of a most marked character. No tribe, however hostile or numerous, had been ever known to interpose any obstacle in their way, until they made the attempt to establish a station or post among this small band of Indians, who tenacious of their rights, and loving their mountain wilderness, said to this company, "We are willing to barter our furs and peltries for your powder and ball and such things as you bring for traffic, but we can only make the exchange at certain points" named by themselves; "within the limits of our land you cannot enter; but on the banks of yonder river, which marks our border, we will meet you at stated times and there, and there only, we can trade and traffic." Their determination, to which even up to this day they have most steadfastly clung, became the law of the company, and they so persistently maintained it, that the Canadian voyageurs, employés of the company, immediately called these savages "Cœur d'Alenes," Indians having "hearts of arrows," and hence often called Pointed Hearted Indians, and the mission, "Pointed Heart Mission."

When the disciples of Loyola entered this region, with the praiseworthy object of establishing their missions at different points in the mountains, the Cœur d'Alene country, among other sections, was selected as a mission site. "But," said the members of this same company to the fathers, "you are certainly not going to establish a mission among the Pointed Hearts?" "Why not," said they. "Because," was the reply, "we have tried for years past to surmount, and as yet without success, the difficulties that array themselves against us and forbid the attempt."



But the more anxious now, because difficulties did environ their pathway, the noble De Smet, Joset, and Point, in 1842, went forth and successfully established the cross in the Rocky mountains, and, too, in the very heart of the country of these same savages; and the evidences that we now saw around us all bore witness how untiring and successful their efforts had been.

This mission is in latitude  $47^{\circ} 33' 54''$  N., longitude  $116^{\circ} 13' 45''$  W., approximate and built on the right bank of the Cœur d'Alene river, on a small hill looking towards the north, upon a ridge or spur of the Cœur d'Alene mountains running east and west, at the foot of which is a small but beautiful prairie one mile wide and from two to four long. In this prairie are large and rich fields enclosed, where wheat, oats, barley, and vegetables of all kinds grow in the richest abundance. The mission was first established on the St. Joseph's river; but, as the valley overflowed, the fathers found it necessary to remove to a more favorable locality, and in 1846 selected this site.

The Cœur d'Alenes number about 500 souls, of which 130 are capable of bearing arms. During the difficulties with Colonel Wright and Colonel Steptoe only about 90 were actively engaged, the remainder being neutral. Though not numerous, they are brave and warlike, and, ensconced as they are in the heart of the mountains, they are capable of becoming some day—unless measures are taken to preserve their friendship—a formidable enemy. Their home is in a difficult bed of mountains, and the roads leading thereto are equally difficult to travel, and thus situated they are capable of giving annoyance to a much larger force that might be arrayed against them. They have large bands of horses and horned stock that, living in the fine grass of the mountain valleys, present a fat, sleek appearance. These Indians are industrious, and the fields of vegetables and barns of grain all bespeak an advance far beyond the Indians of the plains. As a tribe they are brave and warlike, but kind and generous. They are of an ordinary stature, and in appearance and general characteristics look not unlike other mountain bands. Their women, like their sex among other tribes, are doomed to all the drudgery of life, but they are represented as chaste and virtuous. Constant exposure from days of infancy to lingering old age leaves its marks upon them, and hence we find few pretty or pleasing faces; but all, with few exceptions, are stunted and frightfully ugly.

The most of the tribe are attached to the mission; and though all do not belong to or profess an attachment to the Catholic creed, yet *all* bear a devotion and affection for the fathers, and have a respect for their labors which is truly beautiful to witness.

The "father" is truly *their* father. In times of difficulty and danger—in things temporal and in things spiritual—he is consulted as the oracle of Delphos, and *his* views, judgments and decisions are nearly always followed; and if not, they are always made to regret it.

Previous to the outbreak and attack upon Colonel Steptoe, the Indians told the fathers of their mood and of their plans. They advised, cautioned, and begged them to desist; but in this instance they followed the wild views of a few chiefs, and headlong rushed into a

war, for which they have been made to pay but a too dear penalty. Whatever their regrets might have been before, certainly now they have been driven to penitence, and I can only hope that it may prove as lasting as apparently sincere. Though it be not necessary to state all the circumstances connected with this tribe of Indians, so far as they relate to this last Indian war, still it might be well to place on record the views held by many while we were at the Cœur d'Alene mission, deduced partly from what we could see, partly from what we heard from others.

After our battle of September 5, a few Cœur d'Alenes, headed by Vincent, their chief, had rendezvoused at the mission, and placing themselves under the guardianship of the fathers had besought them to represent their case to the commanding officer of the troops, and to say "they were sorry for what they had done; that they had been whipped, and they now sued for peace." In order to give them a hearing, and at the same time to strike a blow that they should long remember, we had turned our steps towards the mission, and we determined to tarry here until the different small bands now scattered in the mountains should be collected together. Some were at the lake, some on the St. Joseph's, while others were on the plains and in the mountains. By the evening of September 16, some 80 or 90 lodges were collected together, and the next day was appointed the time for holding the council.

At 10 a. m. of that day the Indians, headed by their chief and attended by the Reverend Father Joset and Minetree, were assembled beneath a council lodge prepared for the occasion, when their chief, Vincent, asked to be heard. Arising, he stated "that his people met us in sadness; their hearts were sorrowful, and their heads bent down to hear a condemnation that justly awaited them; they knew, they felt they had committed a great crime—a crime which they truly repented of, and they now presented themselves to abide by and suffer a punishment that their crimes so richly merited." His speech was brief but impressive, and delivered with feeling, and in expressing his views he expressed the views of all his people. Colonel Wright imposed his own conditions and made peace with them on his own terms; they willingly and apparently in sincerity submitted to his judgments and decisions, but the future alone can tell how faithfully these will be kept. During the difficulties that now terminated so happily for them and, possibly, well for ourselves, the Cœur d'Alenes had taken an active, unexpected and unlooked for part. But, truly, I believe they had been led on step by step to commit this overt act. I now judge them in charity, and if in years to come the reader shall, glancing at these pages, find the character of the Cœur d'Alenes to have become changed, all that could be replied would be—"Impute all to an excess of charitable credulity."

But now, so far as we can judge from the best and most reliable authority, the position of these Indians is somewhat as follows: They are a small mountain band, few in numbers, but strong in position—a band, who in their mountain homes have evinced in years past strong and noble traits of character, which the Jesuit labors of fifteen

years have tended to cultivate and strengthen to such a degree that they, with the Flatheads, now stand pre-eminently in advance of all the smaller bands of the mountain tribes. From their position they had had but little or no contact with the whites until 1853, when a portion of the command, under Governor Stevens passed through their country. The history of the northwest, since 1853, is familiar to every reader of the past as being the history of a country devastated by a long protracted Indian war. During the most of the interval war waged from the south of Oregon to our northern line in one lurid flame, and all the tribes were more or less infected with the general war contagion that now spread over the land. Most of the tribes took an active, a positive part, and those who did not only awaited a favorable opportunity to join the hostile bands, and in this number were the Cœur d'Alenes and Spokanes. Cut off by the position of their homes from a direct contact with tribes then actively engaged in the field, they were kept up to the fighting point by runners from the hostile bands, and we can only believe that they did not join in the war of 1855-'56 from the want of a proper and suitable opportunity, but the war feeling that then existed was continued and maintained, warmed, fostered, and cherished in their breasts until it found vent in the attack upon and defeat of Colonel Steptoe, on the 17th of May, 1858.

This act I sincerely and truly believe to have been a needful and necessary link in the same chain that had held in our Indian policy upon the Pacific, in order to show to the department and to the government at home that that policy carried with it the elements of error, and which this act might tend to remedy and finally eradicate.

Among the runners that then coursed over the country was a small band of Indians living on the border and banks of Snake river, and called the Pelouse, a tribe formed of the renegades of each and every tribe. They enjoy a most unenviable reputation for lying and thieving—their best of traits. With such men for newsmongers and such men for councillors, it is not surprising to know that they were misled and misinformed regarding the true character of the late war, and the causes for which it was waged. They had been told its primary and principal object was for the extermination of the Indian, and to put the white man in possession of his women, his wives, his lands, his all.

The spark of war is thus fanned into a flame, and in addition to the natural instinct and feeling of hostility that the red man in all regions and times bears for the white man, these men felt new causes and new reasons urging and impelling them to war; and they now awaited only a favorable occasion to give vent to their pent-up feelings.

Regarding himself the rightful possessor of the soil, he had determined not to be dispossessed of it without an equivalent. So the war feeling of 1855 was not ended in 1858. Many may join issue, but let them remember that at the end of the winter campaign of 1856 there was a mutual withdrawing of troops and Indians from the field.

In 1857 no troops were sent into the field. The emigrant routes were all blocked up in consequence of difficulties in the interior, and thus no passage of persons was had through the Indian country. The

command under Colonel Steptoe, then, that entered the country in 1858, was the first military force that tried the field since the apparent cessation of hostilities.

But they entered with no hostile intention; on the contrary, Colonel Steptoe, the warm friend of the Indian, had started with a view of adjusting amicably all the differences that existed among the Indians and whites that then had place at Fort Colville; to punish those who had run off cattle from Walla-Walla, and at the same time to produce a moral effect upon the Indian tribes by moving a military column through the country, and give his men at the same time a field experience, and hence the march.

But he knew not, nor was prepared for the development of the temper of the Indians that at that time reigned. An immense hidden magazine lay ready to be sprung for his destruction, and his arrival was to be the torch that should be applied for its explosion. The Indians had determined upon the massacre of his party, if possible, and made their arrangements accordingly. The Pelouse had not been idle during the whole of this time, but continued the circulation of false reports, and his arrival but confirmed and verified their predictions, and lies now became, in the eyes of the Cœur d'Alenes, truths of the first magnitude; and though the headmen of the nation had called upon Colonel Steptoe and asked the object of his mission, still they placed no confidence in his replies, but regarded them as subterfuges to conceal his true intents. They now prepared to carry out their general plan; which was consummated in a sad reverse to our arms, and which the page of history has now appropriated as its own. In this affair it is then seen, that the Cœur d'Alenes had taken an active part—possibly more active than any of the tribes engaged.

During the whole of this time, the Jesuit Fathers had been untiring and indefatigable in their exertions to preserve and maintain a general peace. They harrangued early and late and long, till their weak voices were lost and drowned in the stronger voice of the hostiles crying for war, and until their very motives were suspected and impugned and they themselves threatened a fate that they had now planned for all the whites. But, be it said to their credit, they did not even then desist, nor were they silent, but with their characteristic traits, they persevered to the end.

But these savages had once tasted of battle, they had lost friends and relatives whose death must be now avenged, and they prepared to plunge anew into a second war; and hence, when our columns took the field, they again joined in against us, and their part was most active and conspicuous.

But now, after the 5th September, they acknowledged themselves whipped, they had been worsted in every combat, and nothing now awaited them, if they persisted in their course, but death and destruction. Here again the Jesuits reappear, still active in their exertions, and again remind them of their crimes and the penalty that awaits them; and the Indians, awakening to the realities of their position, were now alarmed at the past and startled at the threatenings of the future. I believe they became truly penitent and saw but too plainly

the developments into which reports, false and malicious, had led them. And now with a determination, under the guidance of the Jesuits, as unexpected as it was worthy, they presented themselves *en masse* before Colonel Wright to abide his decision. Hearing his conditions, they were content, and yielding obedience to the inflictions imposed upon them for their crimes, gave up hostages for the future good behavior of their tribe, and meekly submitted to each and all his terms. Thus ended with them our present troubles, and we can only hope that it may be as lasting as it would seem now to promise; as the Jesuit Father Joset afterwards said, "All is now truly rosy-tinted."

I have thought it not improper to here append the following letter from the Reverend Father Joset, S. J., to the Reverend Father Congiato, S. J., superior for the mission in the Rocky mountains, which is taken from the official papers of the department, in which, I believe, the whole mood of the Indians is set forth in truthful detail.

Let the reader at least judge for himself. The original letter, of which this is a translation, was written in French at the request of Captain Thomas Jordan, United States army.

No. 17.—*Father Joset to Father Congiato.*

VANCOUVER, *June 27, 1858.*

MY REVEREND FATHER: I am going to try and satisfy the demand that you have made of me for a detailed relation of the events of the unfortunate 17th of May, and of the causes which have brought such sad results.

Do not think my reverend father that I am beknowing to all the affairs of the savages, there is a great deal wanting; they come to us about the affairs of their conscience, but as to the rest they consult us but little.

I asked one day of Michel the question if a plot was brewed among the Indians? Do you think that there would be any one in it who would warn the missionary? No one, he replied. This was to tell me implicitly that he himself would not inform me of it. However the half-breeds should know it, added I, much less still than the father. After the battle, Bonaventure, one of the best young men in the nation, who was not in the fight, and who, as I will tell later, has aided us a great deal in saving the lives of the Americans who were at the mission at the time of the battle, Bonaventure said to me, do you think that if we thought to kill the Americans we would come to tell you so? You appear also to think that we can do almost anything with the Indians. Far from it. Even among the Cœur d'Alenes there is a certain number that we never see, that I do not know in any manner. The majority mistrust me when I come to speak in favor of the Americans. Those who were present at the assembly called by Governor Stevens, in the Spokane prairie, will not have forgotten how much the Indians insisted the troops should not pass the river Nez Percés. I have heard the Indians insinuate several times that they had no objections to the Americans passing through their country in



small numbers, but much to their passing in force, as if to make laws. Last winter Michel still said to me: "Father, if the soldiers exhibit themselves in the country (of the mountains) the Indians will become furious," I had heard rumors that a detachment would come to Colville; it was only rumor, and having to go down in the spring—having also written to you to that effect, I intended to go to inform Colonel Steptoe of this disposition of the Indians. Toward the beginning of April it was learned that an American had been assassinated by a Nez Percé. Immediately rumor commences to circulate that the troops were preparing to cross the Nez Percés to obtain vengeance for this crime. Toward the end of April, at the time of my departure, the chief Pierre Prulin told me "not to go now, to wait some weeks to see what turn affairs are going to take." I am too hurried, I replied to him, I cannot wait, and as the parents of the young men whom I have chosen appear troubled, I will choose other companions and country. Arrived at the Camass prairie I met the express of the great chief Vincent; this told me to return, his people thought there was too much danger at that moment. I replied that I was going to wait three days, to give the chief time to find me himself; that if he did not come, I would continue my route. I said to myself if Vincent believes really in the greatness of the danger, however bad or however long the road may be, he will not fail to come. In the meantime I saw several Nez Percés. Their conversation was generally against the Americans. One of them said in my presence, "We will not be able to bring the Cœur d' Alènes to take part with us against the Americans; the priest is the cause; it is for this that we wish to kill the priest."

Vincent marched day and night to find me. Below are, in substance, the reasons he instanced to make me return: "Of the danger on the part of the Americans," I well know that there is none; neither is there any danger for your person on the part of the Indians. You would be able, however, to come back on foot; but we are not on good terms with the Pelouses and the Nez Percés; they are after us without cessation to determine us in the war against the Americans. We are so fatigued with their underhand dealings, that I do not know if we will not come to break entirely with them. Their spies cover the country in every sense. When the young men go for the horses they will kill them secretly, and start the report that they have been killed by the Americans. Then there will not be any means to restrain our people. We hear the chief of the soldiers spoken of only by the Nez Percés, and it is all against us, and to excite our young people. I have great desire to go to see him. It was agreed that when I should go down I would take him to see the colonel; it is then I learned a part of the rumors which were spreading over the country. A white man had said, "Poor Indians, you are finished now;" the soldiers are preparing to cross the river to destroy you; then another five hundred soldiers will go to establish themselves at Colville; then five hundred others will rejoin them; then others and others until they find themselves the strongest; then they will chase the Indians from the country. Still another white had seen five hundred soldiers

encamped upon the Pelouse preparing themselves to cross the river. All the above passed three weeks before the last events. Among other things, he said to me: "If the troops are coming to pass the river, I am sure the Nez Percés are going to direct them upon us." I did not then pay much attention to this statement; but later I saw that he had not been deceived in his predictions; as difficult as it is for a white to penetrate an Indian, just so difficult is it for one Indian to escape another. To return to the mission. I was not without anxiety about what might happen in case the troops should come into the country. I was almost sure of the dispositions of the chiefs and of the majority of the nation; but I knew also a part of the youths are hot-headed, not easy to be governed in a first moment of irritation; also that Kamiakin might make a great many proselytes. I had not forgotten the infernal maxim of Voltaire, "*mutons toujours, il en restera quelque lieu,*" was true, and that there ought to remain something in the hearts of our people of the thousand and one stories of this horrible Indian. I do not know, however, yet that he repeated without cessation to the Indians: the father is white like the Americans; they have but one heart; they treated the young Cœur d'Alènes like women, like prairie wolves, who only knew how to make a noise.

On the 15th of May I received another express from Vincent. The troops had passed the Nez Percés; they had said to the Cœur d'Alènes that it was for them the soldiers wished. He desired me to go to aid him in preventing a conflict. He told me to be quick—the troops were near. I set out in an instant. I had enough trouble to stop these young men, who were working at the mission; it was an excitement that you could scarcely imagine. The good old Pierre Vincent not only refused to conduct me in his canoe to the lake, but bluntly refused to loan me his canoe. Never before was I in such a situation. The distance from the mission to Vincent's camp was, I think, about ninety miles; as the water was very high, I could only arrive on the evening of the 16th. Vincent told me he had been kept very busy to restrain his young men; that he had been at first to the chief of the soldiers, and had asked him if he had come to fight the Cœur d'Alènes; that upon his negative reply he had said, "Well, go on;" but to his great displeasure he had camped in his neighborhood, (about six miles;) that then he had made his people retire. Still a blood-thirsty Pelouse was endeavoring to excite them. Later other Indians confirmed to me the same report; they were Vincent and the Spokane's chief who prevented the fight on the 15th instant. The chiefs of the different tribes and a quantity of other Indians collected around me. I spoke to them to persuade them to peace. I told them that they did not know with what intention the chief of the soldiers was coming; that the next day they should bring me a horse, and that they might accompany me till in sight of the camp of the soldiers; that I would then go alone to find the officers in command, and would make them to know then what was now doubtful; they appeared well satisfied. I said still to Vincent to see that no person took the advance. The same evening they came from the camp of the Pelouses to announce that one of the slaves of the soldiers (it is thus that they call the In-

dians who accompany the troops) had just arrived. The chief of the soldiers would have said, according to him, "you Cœur d'Alenes, you are well to do; your lands, your women are ours." I told the Cœur d'Alenes not to believe it, that no officer ever spoke in that way; tomorrow I will ask the chief of the soldiers if he has said that. The next morning I saw the Spokane's Tshequyseven "Priest." Said he to me, "yesterday evening I was with the chief of the soldiers, when a Pelouse came to tell him that the priest had just arrived; he has brought some powder to the Cœur d'Alenes to encourage them to kill the soldiers;" then turning round towards the Cœur d'Alenes, "do you see now the deceit of this people." Said I they go and slander us before the soldiers, and slander the soldiers here. When they had brought me a horse, I went to the camp of the soldiers; they were far off. I set out in their direction to join them. I saw Colonel Steptoe; made him acquainted with the disposition of the Indians, the mistrust the presence of the troops would inspire, and how I had been kept from going to inform him in the spring. He told me that, having heard by letter from Colville that the whites had had some difficulty with the Indians, he had at first resolved to go there with a few men, to talk with the whites and Indians, and to try and make them agree, but, having learned that the Pelouses were badly disposed, he had determined to take a stronger escort; that, had he known the Spokanes and Cœur d'Alenes dreaded the presence of the armed force, he would not have come without having notified them; that he was much surprised the evening before to see the Indians; that they had always talked peaceably to him, then to come to meet him with such hostile demonstration, he had well thought they would come to blows; that he was happy to return without spilling blood. I asked him if he did not desire to see the chiefs; upon his reply that his dragoon horses were too much frightened to stop long, I observed to him that they could talk in marching; he then said he would take pleasure in seeing them. I went to seek them. I could only find Vincent; him I conducted to the colonel; he was fully satisfied with him. One of the Indians who accompanied the troops gave Vincent a blow over the shoulders with his whip, saying to him "Proud man, why do you not fire?" then accused one of the Cœur d'Alenes who had followed Vincent of having wished to fire upon a soldier. Vincent was replying to the colonel, when his uncle came to seek him, saying the Pelouses were about commencing the fire. I warned the colonel of it, and then went with Vincent to try and restrain the Spokanes and Cœur d'Alenes; when we had made them acquainted with the disposition of the colonel, they appeared well satisfied. Victor, one of the braves, who has since died of his wounds, said we have nothing more to do here, we will each one go to his home. Jean Pierre, the chief, supported the proposition of Victor; then Malkapsi became furious. I did not at the time know why. I found out later that he wished all to go to the camp of Vincent to talk over their affairs. Malkapsi slapped Jean Pierre, and struck Victor with the handle of his whip. I seized the infuriated man; a few words sufficed to calm him. I set out then with a few

chiefs to announce at the camp that all was tranquil; a half hour or an hour afterwards, what was my surprise to learn that they were fighting. I had, well indeed, to ask for a horse; there was in the camp only old men and women; it was about 3 o'clock when they brought me a heavy wagon horse. I set out, however, with the hope of getting there by night, when I was met by an Indian, who told me it was useless to fatigue myself, the Indians are enraged at the death of their people, they will listen to no one, whereupon I returned to my tent, the dagger in my heart. The following is the cause of this unhappy conflict as it has been related to me: The parents of Malkapsi, irritated and ashamed of his passion, said to him: "what do you do? you maltreat your own people! if you wish to fight, behold your enemies," (pointing to the troops;) then saying: "Oh, well, let us go and die," they ran towards the troops; I do not think there was more than a dozen of them. The affair did not become serious until Jacques, an excellent Indian, well beloved, and Zacharia, brother-in-law of the great chief Vincent, had been killed; then the fury of the Indians knew no bounds. The next day I asked those that I saw "What provocation have you received from the troops?" "None," said they. "Then you are only murderers, the authors of the death of your own people." "This is true; the fault can in no way be attributed to the soldiers; Malkapsi is the cause of all the evil." But they were not all so well disposed. When I asked others what the soldiers had done to them, they replied to me: "And what have we done to them, that they should come thus to seek us; if they were going to Colville," said they, "why do they not take the road, no one of us would then think of molesting them. Why do they go to cross the Nez Percé so high up? Why direct themselves in the interior of our country, removing themselves further from Colville? Why direct themselves, then, upon the place, where we were peaceably occupied in digging our roots? Is it us who have been to seek the soldiers, or the soldiers who have come to fall upon us with their cannon?" Thus, although they avow that they fired first, they pretend that the first act of hostility came from the troops. I asked them if they had taken scalps. They told me no, with the exception of a small piece that had been taken by a half fool. I asked them, also, if they had interred the dead. They replied that the women had buried them, but that the Pelouses had opened the graves which were at the encampment. It is then, also, that the Indians told me: We see now that the father did not deceive us when he told us that the soldiers wished peace. We forced them to fight; we fired a long time upon them before they answered our fire. As to the actual disposition of the Indians (Cœur d'Alenes), I think they can be recapitulated as follows: 1st. Regret for what has happened; all protesting that there was nothing premeditated; seeing that all the chiefs and the nation in general were decided upon peace; it was an accident that brought to life the anger of the older men. 2d. Disposition to render up what they have taken from the troops, in order to have peace. 3d. If peace is refused them, determination to fight to the last. I knew, from Colonel Steptoe, that his guide

had told him he was conducting him to Colville by the nearest road. Now that the guide mistook himself so grossly, is absurd to suppose. It appears necessary to conclude that in conducting the troops straight upon the camp of the Indians, he had design. It cannot be supposed that he ignored the irritation that the presence of the troops would produce upon the Indians; and as for the rest, the intriguing of this guide is well known. I see no other way to explain his conduct, than to say he laid a snare for the Cœur d'Alenes, whom he wished to humiliate, and that seeing afterwards the troops fall in the ditch that he had dug for others, he has done everything possible to draw them from it. The Cœur d'Alenes say, also, that it was cried to them from the midst of the troops: "Courage! you have already killed two chiefs;" that one of the Nez Percés who had followed the troops, came back to say to his people: It is not the Cœur d'Alenes, but, indeed, the soldiers who killed the two Nez Percés. because they said that they wished to save themselves on the side of the Indians; neither the Cœur d'Alenes, nor the Spokanes, nor the Chaudries, the Pend d'Oreilles, and the Tetes Plattes had spilt white blood; they pride themselves for it. If the war commence now, it is probable it will terminate only by the extermination of all these tribes, for their country is so difficult of access that it will be impossible to terminate it in a year or two, and almost equally impossible that it continue without all these tribes, including the Pieds Noirs taking part in it. When Governor Stevens was to see the Pieds Noirs to make a treaty with them, they said to our Indians: Until now we have quarrelled about one cow, but now we are surprised by a third; we will unite ourselves against him; if the Americans attack you, I will aid you; if they attack me, you will aid me. The war will cost thousands of lives, and all for an affair unpremeditated, and for which the Indians feel much regret. You will easily believe me, my reverend father, when I tell you I would purchase back with my life this unhappy event; not on my own account; I have been, and will be, much slandered; but what are the judgments of man to me, when God is my witness that I have done everything in my power to preserve peace? Your reverence knows very well that we have always threatened our Indians to quit them if they exhibit themselves hostile against the whites. They expect to see themselves abandoned; I have told them positively we will go. To quit them, actually would be to deliver them to the deceit of Kamiakin, and to light, I think, a universal war throughout the whole country. What pains me is to see the ruin of so many good Indians. What breaks my heart, is to see Colonel Steptoe, the zealous protector of Indians, exposed to the blame which ordinarily attaches itself to bad success; however, in the eyes of reflecting men, who know his situation, his retreat will do him infinite honor. It is not, I think, the first officer you will meet who could thus have drawn himself out from so bad a situation, surrounded by an army of ferocious beasts, hungry after their prey; of Indians sufficiently numerous to relieve each other, and who had always the means of procuring fresh horses. It appeared impossible that the troops could escape. Besides, the plan of the In-



dians was not to give them any rest until they had crossed the Nez Percé; the Spokanes were to be there early on the morning of the eighteenth to relieve the Cœur d'Alenes. In a position so critical, the colonel deceived the vigilance of his enemies, and throwing them his provisions, as an inducement to delay, he defeated their plan. He foresaw, without doubt, that the Indians on the one hand had let him take the advance, and on the other tempted by the booty abandoned the pursuit; so that if the troops have escaped, they owe it to the sagacity of the colonel. At the mission they were on the point of having a tragedy. Four Americans had arrived there with some half breeds and Canadians. After my departure to go to see the colonel from Colville, they went to the Flathead country. On the evening of the 18th the news reached them of the battle, and of the death of Jacque, Zacary and Victor. Immediately the women commenced to cry that it was necessary to avenge their deaths. Our two brothers got wind of what was passing. Whilst brother McGeon harrangued them at his best to try and bring them back to humane sentiments, the good old Francois ran with all his might around the marsh, through water and brushes to their encampment, to inform them of the danger. They immediately hid themselves. The next day, the nineteenth, one of them came back to the encampment, saying he would as soon die by the hands of the Indians as by starvation in the woods. The half breeds saved him by saying he was not an American, but a Dane. The Indians were now ashamed of their conduct. Adrian, who had been one of the most ardent, showed himself afterwards one of the most faithful; he came to warn us when there was any new danger. The Indians told the half breeds to go and seek the Americans, who were miserable in the woods. One of the Indians opposed it. He since declared to me that his anger was not yet allayed, and that he was afraid of being carried away by his passion to commit some bad deed. In fact, the Americans who came in in the evening were very near being killed. Adrian having warned us that his life was in danger, we made him come to our house. They are all in safety now. No person has aided us in saving them more than the Indian Bonaventure. When I had set out, he had gone to accompany them to Clark's river, showing them a new road, the ordinary road being still impracticable.

Je suis avec respect, mon révérend père, votre tres humble serviteur,

P. JOSET, S. J.

Having completed his negotiations with the Cœur d'Alenes, the colonel now determined to move again towards the Spokane country, and to visit the battle-ground of Colonel Steptoe, to there recover the two 12-pounder howitzers lost in his engagement.

Everything having been perfected, and finding that our direct route lay along the road to the south of the Cœur d'Alene lake, we resumed our march, leaving the mission on the morning of the 10th of September. The morning was dark and cloudy, with a slight sprinkle of rain; but as our men and animals were well rested and recuperated,

we heeded it but little. Our route lay down the right bank of the Cœur d'Alene river, the trail leading for a mile and a half through small open prairies, when it reached the base of a wooded hill, forming a spur running east and west. This hill is neither high nor difficult, but, on account of the timber, requires some work in order to make a good road. There will be some slight work before reaching this point. I have entered with somewhat greater detail regarding this portion of the route and country, as it is over a part of this country that the proposed military road from Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Benton will pass.

Leaving then this hill referred to, and passing through a prairie bottom, we reach a slough that needs bridging; timber is near at hand.

Leaving this and travelling along the slough for a short distance, we soon reach a second and somewhat more difficult side hill that will require work.

The trail passes along the side hill, but a good road can, I think, be cut through the timber at the foot of the hills. This then brings us to a prairie bottom, which, during high water, is a lake or marsh. This compels the road to keep again along the side hills for some distance, and may probably require that a small portion of it be corduroyed. The road then passes through timber requiring work. The timber is dense and large, but the valley bottom, if it be not too wet, should be preferred to the side hill.

In this length *it is possible* that crossing the stream may be found to be beneficial; but as the Cœur d'Alene river is twenty-five feet deep and eighty yards wide nearly throughout its whole length, as few bridges as can be got along with should be made, and a preferable location given the road by keeping along or near the foot-slopes of the hills that bound the valley. A special examination is required here.

Passing then over some rocky points and through small clumps of timber, we again emerge upon the open prairie, where the road is now good. For the remainder of this day we continued along the right bank of the Cœur d'Alene river to our camp,  $14\frac{7}{10}$  miles from the mission.

Throughout the bottom of the valley we find a somewhat elevated strip of land along the immediate bank of the river, and it is possible that this will afford throughout the length of the valley the best location for a good military road.

During the high water or freshets the bottom of the valley is overflowed, and the ground being flat, with this elevated strip along the edge of the river, the water cannot run off, but is lost by evaporation, so that the road, unless it be late in the season, must be always wet. It has been suggested—and with what truth it might be well to examine at some future day—that at the upper falls of the Spokane, some ten miles below the Cœur d'Alene lake, the river is confined within a narrow cañon of rock, with a fall of from eight to ten feet; that could this be blasted away, it would lower the general level of the water not only of the lake, but of the Cœur d'Alene and St. Joseph's rivers—its two feeders—some eight or ten feet. Neither of these feeders have a current, and both are twenty-five feet deep, and

through this length of ten miles to the Cœur d'Alene lake there is little or no current, and hence, the falls being removed and the current increased, the volume of water in the lake and rivers must become diminished, and thus the great overflows be prevented. Should this, upon examination, prove practicable, it would not only be the greatest and most economical manner to build a road—by drainage of the prairie bottoms, thus giving the best location—but it would also be the means of reclaiming much valuable land along these rivers that, with their present richness, would produce inexhaustible crops. It is possible, however, that this dyke of rock or barrier that constitutes the falls is only the terminus of a long ledge of rock higher than the general level of the lake bottom; and hence the mere blasting away of this dyke might not, after all, be of special advantage, but might require a channel to be made through the whole length from the lake. Still it is worthy of examination. When the day comes when this mountain region shall become thickly populated, then, probably, an improvement of this character will become imperative.

I would here remark that, if a practicable route could be found by following up the valley of the Pelouse, from its position it would be far preferable to any route to its north or south with which to connect with the Hellgate and Little or Big Blackfoot Passes. It is reported by the Indians, and confirmed by the Jesuit fathers, that a good road can be found thence to the waters of the Missouri. It is certainly worthy an exploration. Later in the campaign I directed Father Joset to send some friendly Cœur d'Alenes over the route, and his report to me goes to show that the whole line is direct and easy, with grass, wood, and water, and no very great amount of work to be done on the whole line to the Bitter Root or St. Mary's valley; and as this line is in such intimate connexion with the Cœur d'Alene route, it should be by all means examined by some competent engineer. A route by this pass would not only be more direct and shorter from Walla-Walla, but, in view of the many swamps and marshes to be avoided along the St. Joseph's and Cœur d'Alene rivers, rendering a road somewhat difficult of construction, this becomes truly a line worthy of a full and detailed examination.

Before leaving the mission, Mr. Sohon, my faithful and indefatigable assistant, who there made the truthful sketch of the mission village, was directed to proceed down the Cœur d'Alene river in a barge, to examine, map, and report upon the Cœur d'Alene river, who, arriving almost simultaneously with ourselves at our camp, reports the distance, including all the bends and windings,  $17\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the mission to the crossing at which we had encamped. He reports the river with a sluggish current, 25 feet deep, 60 yards wide, and water of a deep blue color; banks 10 feet high, and steep, and lined with willow and occasionally a few pines and cotton-wood, and the hills bounding the valley on either side densely timbered with the pine and fir. The map of this river is from his work, and may be relied upon as faithful and accurate. The stream is filled with the red and black speckled trout, and the numerous lakes along and connecting with it filled with ducks and water fowl.

This whole region is noted for its abundance and variety of large and small game. Black and grizzly bear, deer and elk principally abound. Thus provided with game, these mountain Indians, in their strong position, are well calculated to give us annoyance and trouble, and thus hold the key to one of the principal mountain passes; they should be conciliated on just and equitable grounds.

The day was rainy and unpleasant, and making camp at 1 p. m. on the right bank of the Cœur d'Alene, at the crossing, we found a wet couch for the night. About ten miles above our camp of this day we crossed a small slough, which we kept to our right. This connects with a lake just in rear of our camp, of three-quarters of a mile long and half a mile wide, and this connects with the main river by a small stream. A lake, some two miles long and one broad, lay also opposite to our camp on the left bank of the river. The Cœur d'Alene valley at this point is about two miles broad, and lined on either side by high ranges of pine-clad hills, that on the right being somewhat rocky. At our camp we found good grass, wood, and water. Many of the Cœur d'Alenes had descended the river to assist us in crossing, the principal portion of our baggage being crossed in a large barge from the mission and two of the "Sweitzer boats." These last had been made under the direction of that indefatigable and zealous officer, Captain Kirkham, under whose guidance the crossing was effected. These boats consist of a frame of three parts—a bottom and two sides—and the different parts of these connected by hinges; thus enabling them to be folded up and packed on a mule; one mule will carry one of these boats packed. When the frame is fitted together, a strong, thick canvas is stretched over the whole, and it makes a light, convenient, and elegant boat. We found that the canvas leaked a little; but Captain Kirkham suggested an improvement by having the canvas previously prepared so that it would be impervious to water. Lieutenant Sweitzer, of the 1st dragoons, first suggested the plan, and hence it is called the "Sweitzer boat."

These boats answer very well for crossing small streams where the current is not rapid, but for larger streams with rapid currents I doubt as to their special advantages. The boat that we used was some five feet broad and nine feet long. They should be about five feet broad and fifteen feet long, and would then answer very well for military purposes, either for pack or wagon trains, and are capable of transporting heavy laden teams or wagons across streams with great facility, provided there be no rocks or snags in the way. The command having commenced the crossing on the 18th, we had everything on the left bank by 1 p. m. of the 19th, when we encamped on a beautiful prairie at the edge of a pine thicket, finding excellent grass for our animals. Resuming our march at 7 a. m. on the morning of the 20th, our road for a mile and three-quarters lay along the left bank of the Cœur d'Alene river, through a level prairie bottom, when we reached a sharp rocky point at a lake making to the right of our trail. Here our direction became changed to the south by ascending the rocky point and passing, for a distance of three miles, along the edge

of the lake and on a bench 40 to 50 feet high above it through the thick timber.

There will be work through this timber; and in order to ascend this rocky point from the prairie bottom with facility and with an easy grade for wagons, a staging or bridge can be made from the timber near at hand. At the end of three miles we began the ascent of a somewhat difficult hill or mountain slope, rocky, rugged, and thickly wooded; but gaining the summit we emerged upon an open, bare side hill which exposed, to the right of our trail, a deep cañon with rocky sides, the bottom of which was densely timbered with the pine and cotton-wood. This cañon is at the head of the lake above referred to, which is a mile and a quarter long and near half a mile wide, and bounded on the west by high, steep, and pine-clad hills, the pines coming down to the water's edge. This lake connects with the Cœur d'Alene river by a small river, and the river thence retains its general characteristics. There are four very good crossings of the Cœur d'Alene between the mission and this point.

On examining the cañon referred to above we found it to be of easy descent, and I think a good road might be cut through the timber, which would avoid the steep ascent now made where the trail passes.

Should the hill not be avoided thus, then wagons may pass to the right. It requires examination before location. From the head of the cañon our trail entered and continued through to open pine timber until we reached the summit of the low divide between the St. Joseph's and Cœur d'Alene rivers; reaching which we enjoyed the beautiful panorama of the St. Joseph's valley. The St. Joseph's river, fringed with willow and cotton-wood, gracefully winds through a valley three-quarters of a mile wide, and extending to the east till lost far in the distance by the spurs making down from either side. The valley is bound by high pine-clad hills which gives the whole view, as seen from the hill-tops, a most beautiful and magical effect. The descent to the valley of the St. Joseph's is steep and abrupt, and free from timber. A better road could, I think, be found more to the west upon examination. At the foot of this hill we saw the site and wreck of the old Mission of the Sacred Heart, established in 1842, but which, in consequence of the overflow of the valley, was abandoned and the present site selected as the most eligible and advantageous to the Indians. Crossing the valley and following along the right bank of the St. Joseph's for four miles and a half by a good prairie road, we reached the crossings of the river at a point where a slough, emptying a lake to the south of the St. Joseph's, and the St. Joseph's unite. Here is formed a narrow tongue of land which I am told is not overflowed land, which might afford a very good road by following it for four miles and a half, and then bridging the river. In going westward the marshy and swampy places are avoided.

In consequence of the whole country near this point being low and flat, we find a number of lakes dotting the valley at as many points.

We made to-day 13 miles, encamping on the right bank, with fuel and plenty of grass, but the latter being of an inferior quality.



Mr. Sohon, continuing his examinations of the water courses from our camp on the Cœur d'Alene river, descended that river in the barge to the Cœur d'Alene lake, and thence to the St. Joseph's, reaching our camp late in the afternoon. He describes the river as retaining its same general characteristics to the Cœur d'Alene lake, where he found the water fifty-five feet deep. On entering the St. Joseph's at its mouth he found its water 25 feet deep, which depth it retained to our camp, where he ended his work. He was enabled to collect a number of important facts regarding the river, the position of the mountains and lakes, and made a very complete map of that section which is incorporated in the second section of our general map.

The pack trains having crossed the St. Joseph's on the evening of the 20th September, under the general direction of Captain Kirkham, assistant quartermaster, the colonel determined, on the morning of the 21st, to cross the remainder of the command, and to move into a suitable camp where better grass for our animals could be had.

With this view, and in order to meet the Spokanes, supposed to be on the Nedwhuald creek, we moved by detachments from the crossing of the St. Joseph's on the morning of the 21st; at this point the road forks, one passing to the south to the Camass ground of the Cœur d'Alenes; that to the north being the one we had concluded to follow.

This road, leading through the bottom for seventy yards, ascended the steep slope of a pine-clad hill 1,500 feet high, gaining the summit of which we had a fine view on all sides for miles in the distance. To the east lay the beautiful valley of the St. Joseph's, with the western spurs of the Blue mountains at its head, dotted here and there with silvery lakes. To the north and south lay the high sides of the pine-clad mountains of the Cœur d'Alene range and spurs of the Bitter Root, while a broad belt of dense timber lay to the west, beyond which lay the immense swelling ocean of prairie to complete a picture already truly grand. Leaving the summit and descending this slope for half a mile through small fallen timber, we gained an open prairie bottom which we followed for four miles to a small clump of small cotton-wood, where, finding some pools of water and sufficient grass for our animals, we encamped for the night, our march being only six miles.

Resuming our route at an early hour on the morning of the 22d, for two miles we passed through the open pine timber, when we reached the open prairie, having to our right and left, in a fan-shaped form, ridges covered with open pine timber.

Following this trail for a distance of twenty-one miles to the Lahtoo or Nedwhuald creek, we encamped for the night, the road being over a rolling prairie which at every point was well covered with excellent bunch grass. Along the route we found, at convenient distances, springs and pools of water sufficient for our men and animals. To our extreme right lay a high pine-clad range of hills or mountains, to the north of which flowed the Spokane river. In front of us, towards the end of the march, the pines again appeared; and on reaching the Lahtoo we found ourselves on the edge of quite an extensive pine forest. We remained in camp on the 23d to hold conversations with

the Cœur d'Alenes, Spokanes, and a few Pelouses who had come in with them. These men were under Vincent Garry Polatken, Big Star Skolhalt and a few other of the principal chiefs. It was on this day that Owli, a Yakima chief, came into our camp, and who, being made prisoner, at a later day in the campaign, while attempting to escape, was shot near the Trucamon river. His son Traltian and a number of Pelouses at this same camp expiated their many crimes upon a gallows erected for the purpose. The colonel, determining to remain with the main body of his command at this camp, detached Major Grier with three companies of dragoons to visit Steptoe's battlefield to recover the guns there lost and to collect the bones and remains of the officers and men who fell in that memorable contest.

HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITION AGAINST NORTHERN INDIANS,  
*Camp on the Spokane river, W. T., 16 miles above the "Falls."*  
September 10, 1858.

SIR: I have this morning received a despatch from Father Joset, at the Cœur d'Alene mission. He says that the hostiles are *down* and suing for peace; that there was great rejoicing amongst the friendly Indians when they heard of our two victories over the hostiles; had we been defeated, all those who did not join the hostiles would have been sacrificed.

I have just sent off Father Joset's messenger. I said to the father that he could say to those who had not been engaged in this war that they had nothing to fear—that they should remain quiet, with their women and children around them; to say to all Indians, whether Cœur d'Alenes or belonging to other tribes, who have taken part in this unhappy war, that if they are sincere and truly desire a lasting peace, they must all come to me with their guns, with their *families*, and all they have, and trust entirely to my mercy; that I promise only that no life shall be taken for acts committed during the war. I will then tell them what I do require before I grant them peace. As I reported in my communication of yesterday the capture of 800 horses on the 8th instant, I have now to add that this large band of horses composed the entire wealth of the Pelouse chief Tilco-ax. This man has ever been hostile; for the last two years he has been constantly sending his young men into the Walla-Walla valley, and stealing horses and cattle from the settlers and from the government. He boldly acknowledged these facts when he met Colonel Steptoe, in May last. Retributive justice has now overtaken him; the blow has been severe but well merited. I found myself embarrassed with these 800 horses. I could not hazard the experiment of moving with such a number of animals (many of them very wild) along with my large train; should a stampede take place, we might not only lose our captured animals, but many of our own. Under those circumstances, I determined to kill them all, save a few for service in the quartermaster's department and to replace broken down animals. I deeply regretted killing these poor creatures, but a dire necessity drove me to it. This work of slaughter has been going on since 10 o'clock of yesterday,

and will not be completed before this evening, and I shall march for the Cœur d'Alene mission to-morrow.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

*Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.*

Major W. W. MACKALL,

*Assistant Adjutant General,*

*Headquarters Department of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver, W. T.*

HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITION AGAINST NORTHERN INDIANS,  
*Camp at the Cœur d'Alene Mission, W. T., September 15, 1858.*

SIR: I marched from my camp on the Spokane river, 16 miles above the falls, on the morning of the 11th instant; after fording the river, our line of march was pursued along its right bank for fourteen miles, when I struck the Cœur d'Alene lake and encamped. Resuming our march on the 12th, we soon lost view of the lake on our right, and struck into the mountains, with a forest on either hand, and a trail which only admitted the passage of a single man or animal at a time. After marching twelve miles I found a small prairie, with a fine running stream of water, and encamped.

Marching early on the 13th, we found the trail infinitely worse than that of the previous day; passing through a dense forest, with an impenetrable undergrowth of bushes on both sides, and an almost continuous obstruction from fallen trees, our progress was necessarily slow, having to halt frequently and cut away the logs before our animals could pass over. The column and pack train could only move in single file, and extended from six to eight miles, but it was perfectly safe, the front and rear were strongly guarded, and nature had fortified either flank. No communication could be had with the head of the column and its rear, and thus we followed this lonely trail for nineteen miles to this place. The rear of the pack train with the guards did not reach here until 10 o'clock at night. I found the Indians here in much alarm as to the fate which awaited them, but happily they are now all quieted. Father Joset has been extremely zealous and persevering in bringing in the hostiles. They are terribly frightened, but last evening and to-day they are coming in quite freely with the women and children, and turning over to the quartermaster such horses, mules, &c., as they have belonging to the United States.

The hostile Spokanes have, many of them, gone beyond the mountains and will not return this winter. The Pelouses, with their chiefs Kamiaken and Til-co-ax, are not far off, but it is doubtful whether they will voluntarily come in. If they do not, I shall pursue them as soon as I can settle with the Cœur d'Alenes.

The chastisement which these Indians have received has been severe but well merited, and absolutely necessary to impress them with our power. For the last eighty miles our route has been marked by

slaughter and devastation; 900 horses and a large number of cattle have been killed or appropriated to our own use; many horses, with large quantities of wheat and oats, also many caches of vegetables, kamas, and dried berries, have been destroyed. A blow has been struck which they will never forget.

I hope to march from this place on the 18th or 19th in the direction of Colonel Steptoe's battle-ground, having in view to intercept, if possible, the Pelouses, and also to hold a meeting with several bands of the Spokanes, if they can be collected.

The troops are in fine health and spirits. I have provisions which, by economy and a slight reduction of the ration, will last until the 5th of October. We shall soon feel the want of booties very sensibly. The days are warm, but ice a quarter of an inch thick is made every night.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. MACKALL,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters Department of Pacific,

Fort Vancouver, W. T.

#### HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITION AGAINST NORTHERN INDIANS,

Camp 35 miles SW. of Cœur d'Alene's Mission, W. T.,

September 21, 1858.

SIR: I have the honor to submit a *resumé* of operations since my communication (No. 17) of the 15th instant.

On the 17th instant the entire Cœur d'Alene nation having assembled at my camp near the mission, I called them together in council. I then stated to them the cause of my making war upon them. I made my demands specifically: 1st, that they should surrender to me the men who commenced the attack on Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe, contrary to the orders of their chiefs; 2d, that they should deliver up to me all public or private property in their possession, whether that abandoned by Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe, or received from any other source; 3d, that they should allow all white persons to travel at all times through their country unmolested; 4th, that, as security for their future good behavior, they should deliver to me *one* chief and *four* men with their families, as hostages, to be taken to Fort Walla-Walla.

After a brief consultation, they announced their determination to comply with all my demands, in every particular, in sincerity and good faith.

All the Cœur d'Alene nation, with the exception of some six or eight, were present at the council; and as an evidence that they had previously determined to make peace on any terms, they brought with them their families, and all the property they had belonging to

the government or to individuals, ready and willing to submit to such terms as I should dictate.

The chiefs and headmen came forward and signed the preliminary articles of a treaty of peace and friendship, and in the course of the day fulfilled, as far as practicable, my demands by delivering up horses, mules, and camp equipage.

The chiefs and headmen expressed great grief and apparently sincere repentance for their misconduct, which had involved them in a war with the United States. I have never witnessed such a unanimity of feeling nor such manifestations of joy as was expressed by the whole Cœur d'Alene nation—men, women, and children—at the conclusion of the treaty. *They know us, they have felt our power*, and I have full faith that henceforth the Cœur d'Alenes will be our staunch friends.

I marched from the Cœur d'Alene's mission on the morning of the 18th, having with me the prisoners, hostages, and many other Cœur d'Alenes, as guides, &c. Our route lay down the right bank of the Cœur d'Alene river for thirteen miles, where I encamped at a point where the river has to be ferried. It occupied most of the 19th in crossing the troops, animals, and stores, assisted by the Indians with their canoes.

Leaving camp on the 20th, we pursued our march still in the mountains, and the trail obstructed by fallen trees, until we struck the St. Joseph's river, at thirteen miles, and encamped. Again we found a river which could not be forded, and our two boats, with the Indian canoes, were instantly called into requisition. By sunset the general supply train was crossed, and recommencing at daylight this morning, by 12 o'clock in the rear of the column was ready to move.

I shall march to-morrow for the vicinity of Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe's battle-ground to obtain the abandoned howitzers, and in the expectation of meeting the Spokanes and Pelouses.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

*Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.*

Major W. W. MACKALL,

*Assistant Adjutant General,*

*Headquarters Department of the Pacific,*

*Fort Vancouver, W. T.*

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HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITION AGAINST NORTHERN INDIANS,

*Camp on the Ned-whauld River, W. T., Lat. 47° 24' N.,*

*September 24, 1858.*

SIR: I have the honor to submit a continuation of the history of my operations since the 21st, the date of my last communication, (No. 18.)

Marching from my camp on the morning of the 22d, at the distance of three miles we emerged from the woods on to the open prairie, and after pursuing a west-southwest course for eighteen miles over a rolling country thinly studded with pines, we reached this place and encamped.



Before reaching here I was advised that the whole Spokane nation were at hand, with all their chiefs, headmen, and warriors, ready and willing to submit to such terms as I should dictate.

Yesterday at 10 o'clock a. m. I assembled the Indians in council, and after enumerating the crimes they had committed, I made the same demands upon them which had been made upon the Cœur d'Alenes.

Speeches were made by the principal chiefs. They acknowledged their crimes, and expressed great sorrow for what they had done, and thankfulness for the mercy extended to them. They stated that they were all ready to sign the treaty and comply in good faith with all its stipulations.

The chiefs Garey, Polatkin, and Mil-kap-si were present. The first two are Spokanes, the last is a Cœur d'Alene. It will be recollected that each of those men wrote a letter to the general in August last. That of Mil-kap-si was particularly significant, haughty, and defiant in tone, and willing to make peace if *we* desired it, but unwilling to take the initiative. This man was not present when the treaty was made with the Cœur d'Alenes. Now he comes in and humbly asks for peace, and that he may be allowed to sign the treaty. I granted his request, but I took occasion before the whole council to remind him of his letter to General Clarke, and to say to him that *we* had not asked for peace.

Amongst this assemblage of Spokane Indians were representatives from the Calespelles and some other small bands, who stated that they had not engaged personally in the war, but that some of their young men had been in the fights. I did not make any special treaty with them, but told them that they might consider themselves on the same footing as the Spokanes, so long as they refrained from war and conformed to the articles of the Spokane treaty.

The entire Spokane nation—chiefs, headmen, and warriors—expressed great joy that peace was restored, and promised, before the Great Spirit, to remain our true friends forevermore. They have suffered, they have *felt* us in battle, and I have faith that they will keep their word.

Enclosed herewith are copies of the treaties made with the Cœur d'Alenes and Spokanes.

I cannot close this communication without expressing my thanks to Father Joset, the superior of the Cœur d'Alene's mission, for his zealous and unwearied exertions in bringing all these Indians to an understanding of their true position. For ten days and nights the father has toiled incessantly, and only left us this morning after witnessing the fruition of all his labors.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,  
Colonel 9th Infantry.

Major W. W. MACKALL, *Assistant Adjutant General,*  
*Headquarters Department of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver, W. T.*

This detached command, starting early on the morning of the 24th, passed over a series of rolling prairie hills, and in two miles reached a narrow strip of cotton-wood, with a broad belt of pine timber to our right. This same character continued for a distance of eight miles, when we reached a prairie bottom some 300 yards wide, lined on either side by walls of basaltic rock 100 feet high, in which was the dry bed of a lake, from which flows, in the spring season, a small creek that flows into the Ingossomen creek. At this point the pine timber had become more sparse and much scattered, save a few detached clumps where it was more dense. At eight and a half miles from the Lahtoo, this prairie bottom, which runs north and south, is intersected by a cañon running at right angles to it and fifty yards wide. It was at the southwest corner of this intersection that the rear guard of Colonel Steptoe's command, under Lieutenant Gaston, was fired upon in the retreat of May 17, 1858. The trail that Steptoe followed, which, at the intersection spoken of, was to the west of a small dry willow creek, in a mile to the south crosses it to the east and ascended a hill some 250 feet high where a first position of the howitzers was taken.

Gaining the summit of this hill we had a fine view of a large portion of the ground upon which Colonel Steptoe's command operated.

Lieutenant Gregg commanding in advance, with Lieutenant Gaston on the hills to the left, Captain Taylor on the right, with Sergeant Williams in rear, the retreat was made along the southern portion of the hill where they entered the valley of the Ingossomen creek. This last stream rises in a range of low prairie hills and flows in a northerly direction until, reaching the base of the hills, it makes a sharp bend to the south and west. This stream at this season has no current, is two feet deep, fifteen yards wide, and water lying in long canal-shaped basaltic basins. From this hill westwards the pines continued in its valley and near its border; while to the south nothing save a few clumps of scattered cotton-wood along the banks of the Ingossomen were to be seen.

The valley of this creek is about 300 yards wide, and lined on either side by ranges of prairie hills 200 feet high; and following the general direction of the stream for two miles, when, bending more to the east, we reach the point where the final and decisive stand of Steptoe was made, and from which he commenced his retreat. The hill upon which the final position was taken was 150 feet high. The howitzers were placed near the summit—one to defend the hills beyond, and one near the crest to guard the communication with the water.

It is not my province or intention to here give any detailed account regarding the position and affairs of that memorable contest, but simply to relate the part we took in our present mission to the battlefield.

But, for the information of those who never knew all the particulars, and as it is somewhat germane to our own duties, I herewith append Colonel Steptoe's own official reports regarding the matter, extracted from the published official communication of the Secretary of War to the present Congress:

FORT WALLA-WALLA, *May 23, 1858.*

MAJOR: On the 2d instant I informed you of my intention to move northward with a part of my command. Accordingly, on the 6th I left here with companies C, E, and H, 1st dragoons, and E, 9th infantry; in all, five company officers, and one hundred and fifty-two enlisted men. Hearing that the hostile Pelouses were near Al-pon-on-we, in the Nez Percés land, I moved to that point, and was ferried across Snake river by Timothy, a Nez Percés chief. The enemy fled towards the north, and I followed leisurely on the road to Colville. On Sunday morning, the 16th, when near the To-hoto-nim-me, in the Spokane country, we found ourselves suddenly in presence of ten or twelve hundred Indians of various tribes—Spokanes, Pelouses, Cœur d'Alenes, Yakimas, and some others—all armed, painted, and defiant. I moved slowly on until just about to enter a ravine that wound along the bases of several hills, which were all crowned by the excited savages. Perceiving that it was their purpose to attack us in this dangerous place, I turned aside and encamped, the whole wild, frenzied mass moving parallel to us, and, by yells, taunts, and menaces, apparently trying to drive us to some initiatory act of violence. Towards night a number of chiefs rode up to talk with me, and inquired what were our motives to this intrusion upon them? I answered, that we were passing on to Colville, and had no hostile intentions towards the Spokanes, who had always been our friends, nor towards any other tribes who were friendly; that my chief aim in coming so far was to see the Indians and the white people at Colville, and, by friendly discussion with both, endeavor to strengthen their good feelings for each other. They expressed themselves satisfied, but would not consent to let me have canoes, without which it would be impossible to cross the Spokane river. I concluded, for this reason, to retrace my steps at once, and the next morning (17th) turned back towards this post. We had not marched three miles when the Indians, who had gathered on the hills adjoining the line of march, began an attack upon the rear guard, and immediately the fight became general. We labored under the great disadvantage of having to defend the pack train while in motion and in a rolling country peculiarly favorable to the Indian mode of warfare. We had only a small quantity of ammunition, but, in their excitement, the soldiers could not be restrained from firing it in the wildest manner. They did, however, under the leading of their respective commanders, sustain well the reputation of the army for some hours, charging the enemy repeatedly with gallantry and success. The difficult and dangerous duty of flanking the column was assigned to Brevet Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gaston, to both of whom it proved fatal. The latter fell about twelve o'clock, and the enemy soon after charging formally upon his company, it fell back in confusion and could not be rallied. About a half hour after this Captain Taylor was brought in mortally wounded; upon which I immediately took possession of a convenient height and halted. The fight continued here with unabated activity; the Indians occupying neighboring heights and

working themselves along to pick off our men: The wounded increased in number continually. Twice the enemy gave unmistakable evidence of a design to carry our position by assault, and their number and desperate courage caused me to fear the most serious consequences to us from such an attempt on their part. It was manifest that the loss of their officers and comrades began to tell upon the spirit of the soldiers; that they were becoming discouraged, and not to be relied upon with confidence. Some of them were recruits but recently joined; two of the companies had musketoons, which were utterly worthless in our present condition; and, what was most alarming, only two or three rounds of cartridges remained to some of the men, and but few to any of them. It was plain that the enemy would give the troops no rest during the night, and they would be still further disqualified for stout resistance on the morrow, while the number of enemies would certainly be increased. I determined, for these reasons, to make a forced march to Snake river, about eighty-five miles distant, and secure the canoes in advance of the Indians, who had already threatened to do the same in regard to us. After consulting with the officers, all of whom urged me to the step as the only means, in their opinion, of securing the safety of the command, I concluded to abandon everything that might impede our march. Accordingly, we set out about 10 o'clock in perfectly good order, leaving the disabled animals and such as were not in condition to travel so far and so fast, and, with deep pain I have to add, the two howitzers. The necessity for this last measure will give you, as well as many words, a conception of the strait to which we believed ourselves to be reduced. Not an officer of the command doubted that we would be overwhelmed with the first rush of the enemy upon our position in the morning; to retreat further by day, with our wounded men and property, was out of the question; to retreat slowly by night equally so, as we could not then be in condition to fight all next day; it was therefore necessary to relieve ourselves of all incumbrances and to fly. We had no horses able to carry the guns over 80 miles without resting, and if the enemy should attack us *en route*, as, from their ferocity, we certainly expected they would, not a soldier could be spared for any other duty than skirmishing. For these reasons, which I own candidly seemed to me more cogent at the time than they do now, I resolved to bury the howitzers. What distresses me is, that no *attempt* was made to bring them off; and all I can add is, that if this was an error of judgment it was committed after the calmest discussion of the matter, in which, I believe, every officer agreed with me.

Enclosed is a list of the killed and wounded. The enemy acknowledge a loss of nine killed and forty or fifty wounded, many of them mortally. It is known to us that this is an under estimate, for one of the officers informs me that on a single spot where Lieutenants Gregg and Gaston met in a joint charge twelve dead Indians were counted. Many others were seen to fall.

I cannot do justice in this communication to the conduct of the officers throughout the affair. The gallant bearing of each and all

was accompanied by an admirable coolness and sound judgment. To the skill and promptness of Assistant Surgeon Randolph the wounded are deeply indebted.

Be pleased to excuse the hasty appearance of this letter; I am anxious to get it off, and have not time to have it transcribed.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
E. J. STEPTOE,

*Brevet Lieutenant Colonel United States Army.*

Major W. W. MACKALL,

*Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San Francisco.*

*Endorsement.*

This is a candid report of a disastrous affair. The small supply of ammunition is surprising and unaccounted for. It seems that Brevet Brigadier General Clarke has ordered up all the disposable troops in California, and probably will further reinforce Steptoe's district by detachments of the 4th and 9th regiments of infantry; and, on the 29th ultimo, I gave instructions for sending the 6th or 7th regiments of infantry from Salt Lake valley across the Pacific and *via* Walla-Walla, if practicable, in preference to any route south of that.

Respectfully submitted to the Secretary of War.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

JULY 15, 1858.

*Report of the killed, wounded, and missing in the battle at Te-hoto-nim-me, May 17, 1858.*

COMPANY C, FIRST DRAGOONS.

*Killed*—Brevet Captain O. H. Taylor, private Alfred Barnes.

*Mortally wounded*—Private Victor Charles De Moy.

*Severely wounded*—Privates James Lynch and Henry Montreville.

*Slightly wounded*—Farrier Elijah R. Birch.

COMPANY E, FIRST DRAGOONS.

*Killed*—Second Lieutenant William Gaston.

*Mortally wounded*—First Sergeant William C. Williams.

*Severely wounded*—James Kelly, William D. Micon, and Harriet Sneckster.

*Slightly wounded*—James Healy, Maurice Henly, Charles Hughes, and John Mitchell.

COMPANY H, FIRST DRAGOONS.

*Killed*—Privates Charles H. Harnish and James Crozet.

*Missing*—First Sergeant Edward Ball.



## COMPANY E, NINTH INFANTRY.

*Severely wounded*—Private Ormond W. Hammond.

*Slightly wounded*—Privates John Klay and Gotleib Berger.

*Colonel Steptoe to Major Mackall.*

FORT WALLA-WALLA,

May 28, 1858.

MAJOR: In my report of the 23d instant it was stated that five company officers were with my command in the late fight, but their names were omitted. They were as follows:

Captain C. S. Winder, in charge of the howitzers; Brevet Captain C. H. Taylor, 1st dragoons; Lieutenant D. McM. Gregg; Lieutenant James Wheeler, jr., upon whom the command of company C devolved at the fall of Captain Taylor; Lieutenant William Gaston, 1st dragoons.

It may be superfluous for me to say that each one of these officers discharged his duties with the truest courage; but I feel constrained to add that they displayed, throughout, the greatest zeal, cheerfulness, and coolness. It was, no doubt, due to the severe punishment which, by their exertions, the enemy received, that we were not pursued and attacked at the crossing of Snake river, where a bold attack must have been disastrous to us.

The other two commissioned officers with me were Assistant Surgeon Randolph, who was mentioned in my report, and Lieutenant H. B. Fleming, acting assistant quartermaster and acting commissary of subsistence.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. J. STEPTOE,

*Brevet Lieutenant Colonel U. S. A., commanding post.*

Major W. W. MACKALL,

*Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San Francisco.*

*Colonel Steptoe to Major Mackall.*

FORT WALLA-WALLA,

May 23, 1858.

MAJOR: I received by last mail the order to furnish Lieutenant Mullan an escort of one officer and sixty-five soldiers.

Of course the present state of our relations with the northern tribes will make it impossible for Lieutenant Mullan to proceed with his survey.

In this connexion I may inform you that the fight with my command only committed the Indians to hostilities a little earlier, and probably

under more fortunate circumstances for us. A few minutes before the attack upon us, Father Joseph, the priest at Cœur d'Alene mission, joined me, and stated to me that most of the excitement among the tribes was due to mischievous reports that the government intended to seize their lands, in proof of which they were invited to observe whether a party would not soon be surveying a road through it. He added that the Cœur d'Alenes, Spokanes, and Flatheads had bound themselves to massacre any party that should attempt to make a survey. I do not doubt in the least the truth of this statement, and make no question that Lieutenant Mullan's party has been saved from destruction by late occurrences.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. J. STEPTOE,

*Brevet Lieutenant Colonel U. S. A., commanding post.*

Major W. W. MACKALL,

*Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San Francisco.*

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*Colonel Steptoe to Major Mackall.*

FORT WALLA-WALLA,

May 29, 1858.

MAJOR: Since my return to this post the Indians in this vicinity, who began to show much restlessness, have become quiet again. Reports were busily circulated amongst them that my command had been utterly destroyed, and many of them were disposed to take advantage of our supposed condition.

I ought to advise you that, from the best information to be obtained, about half of the Spokanes, Cœur d'Alenes, and probably of the Flatheads, nearly all of the Pelouses, a portion of the Yakimas, and I think a small number of Nez Percés, with scattered families of various petty tribes, have been for some time, and are now, hostile.

It is impossible to say what force they can bring together, but of course they cannot keep together long a force of any size.

A good strong column of three or four hundred infantry, with two or three companies of mounted men, would be able to beat them, I think, under all circumstances, or else to disperse them thoroughly, which would have nearly the same effect. It is unfortunate that such a column cannot be sent out before the season for gathering roots has passed.

There is much doubt on my mind where the Indians obtained their ammunition, of which they had abundance. Some persons believe that the Cœur d'Alene priest furnished it; but I do not credit that. My impression is that it was obtained either from the Colville traders or the Mormons. The priest, in conversation with me, alluded to the report so injurious to his reputation, and added that it was a charge too monstrous for him to notice it in a formal way.

Of one thing the general may be assured, and that is, that the

tribes through whose lands the proposed road to Fort Benton will run are resolved to prevent it; and before even a survey can be made they will have to be chastised.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. J. STEPTOE,

*Brevet Lieutenant Colonel U. S. A., commanding post.*

Major W. W. MACKALL,

*Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San Francisco.*

The following letter written by an officer of Colonel Steptoe's command, Lieutenant Gregg, which is appended to the published report of Indian affairs, gives also in detail the character and spirit of that memorable Indian battle:

*The fight with the Indians near the Pelouse river.*

We are under a thousand obligations to some of our friends for the following information in reference to the recent fight with the Indians near the Pelouse river, on the 19th instant. We give the private letter of an officer who was engaged in the fight, and dated the 23d instant:

"On the 6th instant Colonel Steptoe, with C, E, and H companies, 1st dragoons, and twenty-five men of 9th infantry, with two mountain howitzers, left Fort Walla-Walla for Colville. The officers of the command were Colonel Steptoe, Captains Winder and Taylor, Lieutenants Wheeler, Fleming, Gaston, and Gregg. After marching eight days we reached the Pelouse river, and were about passing into the Spokane country when we were informed by Indians that the Spokanes would resist our entrance into the country. The Spokanes have always been regarded as friendly to the whites, and when we left Walla-Walla no one thought of having an encounter with them or any other Indians on the march.

"On Sunday morning, the 16th, on leaving camp, we were told that the Spokanes had assembled and were ready to fight us. Not believing this, our march was continued until about 11 o'clock, when we found ourselves in the presence of six hundred warriors in war costume. The command was halted for the purpose of having a talk, in which the Spokanes announced that they had heard we had gone out for the purpose of wiping them out; and if that was the case they were ready to fight us, and that we should not cross the Spokane river. The Indians were well mounted, principally armed with rifles, and were extended along our flank at the distance of one hundred yards. After some talk the colonel told us we would have to fight, and we immediately put ourselves into position to move to better ground, determined that the Spokanes should fire the first gun. After marching a mile we reached a sheet of water; it was decided to encamp and hold another talk with the Indians. Nothing resulted from this except the most insulting demonstrations on their part. We dared not dismount, and were in the saddle three hours, until the setting of the sun dispersed the Indians.

"On Monday morning we left camp to return to the Pelouse, marching in the following order: H company in advance, C in the centre, with the packs, and E in rear. At 8 o'clock the Indians appeared in great numbers about the rear of the column, and just as the advance was crossing a small stream they began firing. In twenty minutes the firing became continuous. Seeing that we must fight, and that the action must become general, I was ordered to move forward and occupy a hill that the Indians were making for, and upon which they would have a close fire upon the head of the column. After a close race I gained the hill in advance; on seeing which the Indians moved around and took possession of one commanding that which I occupied; leaving a few men to defend the first hill, and deploying my men, I charged the second and drove them off.

"At this time the action was general. The three companies, numbering in all about 110 men, were warmly engaged with 500 Indians. The companies were separated from each other nearly a thousand yards, and fought entirely by making short charges. At 11 o'clock I was reinforced by the howitzers, and the two companies began to move towards the position I held, the Indians pressing closely upon them. As E company was approaching, a large body of Indians got between it and my company, so that having it between two fires they could wipe it out at once. Gaston, seeing this, moved quickly towards me, having the Indians in his front, and when near enough, and I saw he was about to charge, I charged with the company. The result was that our companies met, having the Indians in a right angle, in which angle we left twelve dead Indians.

"After getting together, we kept up the fight for half an hour, and again started to reach water, moving half a mile under a constant and raking fire, under which our comrades Taylor and Gaston fell. We finally reached a hill near the water, and occupied a summit, and the Indians having now completely surrounded it, we dismounted and picketed our horses close together on the centre of the flat inclined summit, and posted our men around the crest, making them lie flat on the ground, as the Indians were so close and so daring as to attempt to charge the hill; but, although outnumbering us eight to one, they could not succeed.

"Towards evening our ammunition began to give out, and our men suffering so much from thirst and fatigue required all our attention to keep them up. To move from one point to another, we had to crawl on our hands and knees amid the howling of the Indians, the groans of the dying, and the whistling of balls and arrows. We were kept in this position until 8 o'clock p. m.; when, as night came on, it became apparent that on the morrow we must 'go under,' and that not one of us would escape. It was plain that, nearly destitute of ammunition, we were completely surrounded by six or eight hundred Indians, and the most of these on points which we must pass to get away. Therefore it was determined to run the gauntlet, so that if possible some might escape. Abandoning everything, we mounted and left the hill at 9 o'clock, and after a ride of ninety miles, mostly at a gallop, and without a rest, we reached Snake river at Red Wolf's

crossing the next evening, and were met by our friends the Nez Percés. We had two officers, five men, and three friendly Indians killed, and ten men wounded; Sergeant Ball of H company missing. The sergeant distinguished himself very much during the action, and we all hope he will yet come in.

"Captain Taylor was shot through the neck, and Lieutenant Gaston through the body; they both fell fighting gallantly. The companies fought bravely like true men. We brought our horses back in good condition, except about thirty, which were shot during the fight. The Indians made no captures. Before the battle was near over the Indians picked up nine of their dead; how many of them were killed is not known, but I can count fifteen; they acknowledge having forty wounded.

"It will take a thousand men to go into the Spokane country."

And the following from a friend at Vancouver to a friend in this city :

"VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON TERRITORY,  
"May 27, 1858.

"DEAR SIR: From letters received here last night it is evident that Colonel Steptoe did not anticipate any hostility on the part of the *Spokanes*, and relied on their assistance in crossing the Spokane river. At the 'talk' with them on the 16th they refused to assist or even allow him to cross; and being without means or sufficient force to do so, in the face of such numbers, he was compelled to fall back. The severity of the fight on the 17th shows that his estimate of their strength and intentions was correct, and that to have attempted the passage under such circumstances would have insured the destruction of his entire command.

"Captain O. H. P. Taylor was a graduate of West Point of 1846, and brevet captain 'for his gallant and meritorious conduct in conflicts in New Mexico.' It is but a few weeks since he returned from the east with his wife and children, who are now widowed and orphaned by this sad affair. Lieutenant William Gaston was a graduate of 1856, and an officer of great promise.

"Very respectfully, yours,

B."

Having arrived near the battle field, we came upon the bones of many of our men that had lain bleaching on the prairie hills for four months, and that had, in this interval, been scattered and dragged in every direction by the bands of wolves that had infested the place.

Having with us the Cœur d'Alene Indian who, after the battle, finding the body of Lieutenant Gaston, had himself covered it with leaves and bushes, and left it upon the field, we were directed to the spot of his rude burial, and there found the bones of that gallant officer, who fell bravely leading his men in a forlorn charge. On reaching the battle field proper we halted and encamped, and, picketing our animals in good grass, began to search for the remains of the



men there so inhumanly butchered, and the guns lost in that desperate encounter.

The guns, having been well buried, were found as they had been left, undisturbed. Passing along the slope of the hill, we came upon a small ravine, in which lay the graves of four men: Captain Taylor, a half-breed, and two of the dragoons. Silently and mournfully we disinterred their remains, and securely packing them bore them from the field to our camp, in order to transport them to Walla-Walla, there to give them proper burial with military honors.

Silently surveying the ground from the top of this hill, a scene of desolation and sadness met the eye at every point. Broken and burnt fragments of all that had once constituted the equipage of this command lay scattered to the right and left, and everywhere were to be seen the unmistakeable signs of a relentless savage who had determined on the utter annihilation of this small command.

But one thing remained not totally destroyed, viz: a pair of shafts of one of the buried guns. Why this had escaped the general conflagration of such things as the Indians could not usefully appropriate was a wonder to us all.

This, with our rude means at hand, we framed and fashioned into a cross, which we erected upon the battle field as a Christian token to the honored dead, and to point the stranger to the spot where brave men bravely met their fate; and as each officer and soldier lingered near the spot, and heard rehearsed the sad recital of that memorable defeat, the silent tear stole down many a bronzed cheek that had confronted death and braved danger upon many a tented field, and all praying in their hearts "*Requiescat in pace*," left behind them this hill of death, and moving to our camp we found everything quiet, as if the feelings of all were in sad unison with the place, and thus, too, our camp merits the name of the Camp of Death. The subjoined plans and sketches were made by Mr. Kolecki and Mr. Sohon, who accompanied the command.

Colonel Wright having presented us a bottle of fine brandy on the eve of starting for the battle field, we had occasion to remember our friends present and absent. Having accomplished the object of our mission, we resumed our march on the morning of the 25th over the same trail, reaching our former camp on the Ned-whauld at 12 m., where we learned the fate of Qual-chian and his confreres in crime.

HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITION AGAINST NORTHERN INDIANS,  
*Camp on the Ned-whauld (Lahtoo) River, W. T.,*  
 September 24, 1858.

SIR: At sunset last evening the Yakima chief Ow-hi presented himself before me. He came from the lower Spokane river, and told me that he had left his son, Qual-chian, at that place.

I had some dealings with this chief Ow-hi when I was on my Yakima campaign in 1856. He came to me when I was encamped on the Nah-chess river, and expressed great anxiety for peace, and promised to bring in all his people at the end of seven days. He did not keep his word but fled over the mountains. I pursued him, and he left that

country. I have never seen him from that time until last evening. In all this time he has been considered as semi-hostile, and no reliance could be placed on him.

This man Qual-chian, spoken of above, is the son of Ow-hi. His history for three years past is too well known to need recapitulation. He has been actively engaged in all the murders, robberies, and attacks upon the white people since 1855, both east and west of the Cascade mountains. He was with the party who attacked the miners on the We-nat-che river in June last, and was severely wounded; but recovering rapidly, he has since been committing assaults on our people whenever an opportunity offered. Under these circumstances, I was very desirous of getting Qual-chian in my power. I seized Ow-hi and put him in irons. I then sent a messenger for Qual-chian desiring his presence forthwith, with notice that if he did not come I would hang Ow-hi. Qual-chian came to me at 9 o'clock this morning, and at 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  a. m. he was hung.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

*Colonel 9th Infantry, commanding.*

Major W. W. MACKALL, *Assistant Adjutant General,*

*Headquarters Department of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver, W. T.*

The Cœur d'Alenes and Spokanes having been now subdued, and the Pelouse having scattered and fled to the mountains, we had nought to do but to gather the small fragments of the Pelouse that live along the Snake river, and impose upon them such conditions as their crimes merited. We then determined to move southward, as we no longer had an enemy to fight. We resumed our march, then, early on the morning of the 26th, which was cloudy, cold, and uninviting. We have with us now twenty-one hostages and prisoners and a number of friendly Indians, the latter accompanying us for friendly purposes. Ascending the steep hill to the south of the Ned-whauld, we reached a broad, well beaten trail, following a generally southwesterly direction, and leading over the prairie hills for a distance of a mile and a half, when we reached the northern edge of a small skirt of pine timber, which was a continuation of the timber leading to Steptoe's battle ground. Leaving this, we continued over a generally rolling prairie country, affording us an excellent road, and at a distance of 15 miles struck the Sil-say-poo-west-tsin creek, which flows through a basaltic rocky cañon 300 yards wide, where occurs another belt of timber. At a distance of 12 miles from our camp we passed a broad prairie bottom, where were left standing the lodge poles of a large camp.

It was at this point that the main body of hostiles who attacked Steptoe were encamped, with their families. This point looks out to the south upon a continuous line of prairie hills; while to the west, and four or five miles distant, was to be seen another line of hills, partially wooded on the slopes, with a belt of dense timber intervening, while far to the north and west, in the distance, were seen high, frowning, pine clad mountains.

Those to the north we turned, when passing along the Spokane river, leaving them to our south, while those to the west were long spurs and ridges from the main Bitter Root or Cœur d'Alene mountains. The first portion of the road passes through a region well covered with bunch grass, which, to the latter end of the journey, gives place to a sparser growth, where the soil was composed of the detritus of the basaltic lava formation, at points in the interval passing small patches of bottoms, wet in early spring, where the Indians dig the cammass and other roots. We passed no water on the whole route, but in early spring water is found at the point above referred to, which is called by the Indians "See-lay."

This region is much frequented by Indians, in early spring, for roots of many kinds, and being well sheltered, with good grass, wood, and water, it affords them a good resting place.

Here is a small clump of cottonwood trees, in which are found small springs, with wild onions growing near them. Having travelled a distance of fifteen miles, we encamped in the pines on the left bank of the Sil-say-hoo-west-tsin, where we found good grass, wood, and water.

We were met on our road to-day by Schly-ot-se, a chief of a band of friendly Pelouse Indians, who, with two of his men, accompanied us to our camp.

Towards noon the sky became clear, which enabled us to get a good meridian altitude of the sun.

Resuming our march on the morning of the 27th at 7 o'clock, in a heavy rain storm, we crossed the Sil-say-hoo-west-tsin, and gaining its opposite bank, passed over a rocky, rough, pedregal formation, through which we continued for a distance of three and a half miles, when we once more reached the open rolling prairie region. Throughout this distance we found the pine growing in clumps and scattered. The Sil-say-hoo-west-tsin, at a quarter of a mile from our camp, makes an oblong lake, the outlet of which at the south again forms, at no great distance, a second lake, the outlet of which empties into the Nyosomen creek. This lake lies in a deep, rocky bed, with vertical basaltic walls, and lined on either side with scattering pine trees.

This pedregal formation extended some distance to the south and southwest, and may extend northward as far as the general pedregal formation referred to in our journal of the 4th of September.

Gaining the rolling prairie, the trail became broad and well beaten, passing along the easy slopes of prairie ridges, over which it continued for seven miles, when we again came in view and passed through another strip or skirt of timber, through which flows a small, cold stream, shaded immediately on its borders by fringes of willow. This stream the Spokanes call the Scho-scho-u-seep, and the Pelouse the Acqua-aye-seep. It flows to the south and joins the waters of the Pelouse.

The total distance travelled to-day was eleven and a quarter miles, when we encamped on the left bank of the Scho-scho-u-seep, finding good wood and water, but not an abundance of grass. But as we to-day, for the first time on our return route, came in view of the burnt prairie, we feared meeting with some difficulty in finding sufficient

grass ahead for camping purposes, and rather than risk so much, we determined to halt and encamp here, and especially when the clouds that had been lowering throughout the day now began to let fall a drenching rain.

Our view of the surrounding country to-day was much interfered with by the dark hazy character of the atmosphere, but as far as seen to the south and west, it continued a high rolling prairie with unburnt grass, while to the north the country became lower and easier.

The soil in many places to-day was fertile, and with springs earlier in the season, along the trail, would afford excellent camping grounds. But now we found a general scarcity of water. The day being cool, the men did not suffer from thirst, but reached camp with full and untouched canteens.

While on the road to-day we were overtaken by an express man from Fort Colville, bearing us the intelligence that the Indians in that vicinity were committing acts of depredation, and calling upon Colonel Wright for aid and protection. A letter from Father Ravalli to me set forth a fear of a general outbreak of the Indians among the miners and settlers of the valley, and represents an unpromising state of things among the people of that region.

Now that there is a great travel from Fort Colville to the northern mines on Thompson's and Frazer rivers, the Indians doubtless will annoy the line of emigrants destined to pour into that region by this route. But would it not appear a little strange that a foreign corporation, such as the Hudson's Bay Company now is, in our midst, near the border of the territory of its own government, should call upon us for protection against Indians, many of whom come from British territory for the purposes of aggression and plunder?

This foreign corporate body, be it said, however, with all respect for its many high-toned, generous, and chivalric bourgeois and chief factors, exists in our midst as an incubus upon our American progress and advancement; that dries up the founts of prosperity wheresoever located; whose original entry and present stay in the country has been for lucre's sake; I say would it not seem strange, that as these things should so glaringly exist, that we should be still further mortified by being called upon for a military protection.

Were they our own citizens, did we feel that their residence in our midst was to our present or future advancement, then we might unquestionably act differently; for then it would not only be our duty, but this duty would be cheerfully and willingly performed. As pioneers in western settlement and civilization they would be entitled to and would receive our special protection.

This state of things commends itself to the early and earnest attention of our government, for that adjustment and solution that will go to define the rights of our own citizens, and that will not put in jeopardy the lives or interests of a foreign body, regarding whose privileges so much has been guaranteed by treaty stipulations.

The morning of September 28 was cloudy and hazy, and the heavy rain of the previous night still continuing gave promise of an uncomfortable day's journey. But we, nevertheless, resumed our march

at 7 a. m., passing over an easily rolling prairie country for one and a half miles, when we entered a narrow *crulée*, with hills some 200 feet high bounding it on either side. We passed through this for a mile, when we again ascended to the open prairie, passing a small lake not far from the trail. The pine skirting this lake, and in a narrow strip, continued some distance below. The country to the east of this line was a swelling prairie. The Nyossomen creek empties into the lake referred to, the outlet of which now continued to flow through a bleak, barren, basaltic formation, which we could trace for many miles, but still limited towards the east and south and west by this line of prairie hills. At twelve miles distant from camp this stream makes a second lake, then, bending to the south, flows through a changing country, giving place to a low prairie basin, the stream here being fringed with willows. As the soil is light and spongy it is difficult to approach the lake with horses, as it becomes miry towards its border. This rocky basin, through which it soon flows, became more narrow and more rocky. The outlet of this lake soon again becomes a small thread of water, which almost loses itself or sinks into the ground.

We crossed it at a point where its bed is formed of rounded, water-worn boulders, which here presented the appearance of being a stream of considerable size during the spring season. At this point were signs of fish-stands, and the rocks arranged along the bottom similar to those formed for catching salmon in the streams below, of much larger size and of more marked character.

Crossing at this point, we ascended the hill to the south of the creek, in order to avoid the strong bend it made in passing to the west, where it winds through a deep, rocky, black basaltic cañon. On gaining the summits of these hills we have a fine panoramic view of the country that now broke upon the view to our front and right. To the west lay three parallel ranges of high prairie or table land, the nearest two being now burnt over, while the more distant, notwithstanding the cloudy day and generally dreary aspect of the country around, looked not unlike a golden belt that skirted the horizon. Between this and the middle range passed our trail while travelling northward. To our south lay other ranges of flat prairie or table land, marking distinctly the general direction of the Pelouse as it flowed to the west.

Our road now passed over a generally low prairie road for seven or eight miles, when we struck the Oray-tay-ouse, which here flows through a deep rocky cañon a quarter of a mile wide, with strips of prairie land in the bottom.

On gaining the valley bottom of this creek our trail turned a sharp point of basaltic rock. At this place are several Indian graves; among them that of the son of Schlotze, the Pelouse chief, who had been now our travelling companion for three days.

Travelling a mile along the Oray-tay-ouse, we encamped on its right bank at the crossing, finding good grass and water and sufficient fuel for our purposes. The stream is here fringed with large willow, much of which is dry, and a few scattered cottonwoods. We had



to-day a distinct view of the Se-empt-tee-ta butte, which, rearing its blue peak far above the prairie hills around make it the prominent landmark of the country. We left behind us to-day the last of the pines, regarding which I would remark, that they make their first appearance near the highest points of the plateau and extend northward, and have been to us always the means of pointing out the presence of water. The higher points of this plateau being so situated as to intercept whatsoever moisture passes over the country, not deposited upon the mountains in the west, are found covered to a greater or less extent with strips and belts of pine. But what would seem a somewhat singular coincidence is, that wherever in this region we have found the pine growing, the soil has been more or less rocky, and often, indeed, a perfect pedregal formation, apparently with so small a quantity of soil between the rocks as to afford but small hold for the trees to grow.

But in many cases the trees grow luxuriantly and to enormous sizes. The pine is the long-leaved yellow pine, with a slight reddish bark.

The O-ray-tay-ouse of the Spokanes is the Wah-rum of the Pelouse; and I would here remark that in travelling in this region much confusion often arises in giving names to streams and localities in terms of the language only spoken by the guides of exploring or surveying parties; and as an instance of this we will take the stream marked on our maps and known among us as the Pelouse. This stream is not so called by any tribe or band of Indians in the country. By the Pelouse Indians the Snake river as it flows through their country is called the Pelouse; as it flows through the Nez Percés country it is called the Nez Percé river, and as it flows through the Snake Indian country it is called the "Snake river." Thus we see one and the same stream called by three separate and distinct names according to the ownership of the country through which it flows. So also the butte, called by Governor Stevens in his maps and in his reports the "Pyramid butte," is by the Spokanes and Cœur d'Alenes called the Se-empt-tee-ta, and by the Pelouses and Nez Percés the E-o-mosh-toss butte. So the stream upon which we had encamped the 28th September is called by the Spokanes O-ray-tay-ouse, and by the Pelouses Wah-rum; but higher up, before it has formed a series of lakes and received tributaries from the east and other points, it bears still other and different names, and hence the great liability to confusion and error in recording the names to streams and localities unless the most rigid and careful attention be given by each explorer. The similarity between the languages of the Nez Percés and Pelouses is such that the names given to places in the one language might be nearly one and the same as they would bear if given in the other.

With a desire to retain as far as possible each and every Indian name, and to avoid this constant confusion of names that has so often misled us in following the itineraries of others, a rule we have adopted has been to give the Indian names, sometimes more than one, in that language spoken by the tribe in or near whose country the place or locality exists; and as the language will exist unchanged as long as the tribe exists, future travellers in retracing our steps will,

being provided with itineraries of our routes, be enabled to mark with certainty our positions and thus correct many errors which doubtless we have made.

And if this were more generally followed less liability to error and confusion would occur and much positive and correct information gained.

We passed during the march of 28th September many patches of rich, excellent soil, and water at convenient distances for camping or for marching purposes. The great desideratum here is and must be for some time, until a new order of things be had, an abundant supply of fuel.

Leaving our camp on the O-ray-tay-ouse at an early hour on the 29th September, we followed down its right bank for one and a half miles to its junction with the Pelouse, which here flows from the east through a rocky basaltic cañon, one-eighth of a mile wide with walls 150 feet high, stream fringed with willow and flowing over a rocky bed.

The valley of the Pelouse widened as we descended it, the rocky walls giving place to well-grassed prairie hills well covered with soil. The stream itself became somewhat tortuous, winding from side to side, compelling us to avoid its many crossings by taking to the side hills, which in many places were quite rocky. A good wagon road would mostly follow the trail except at a few of the steeper places where it must go in the bottom, crossing and recrossing the stream. The general appearance of the bed of the Pelouse is such as to show that in the spring season a large volume of water is sent down by it to the Snake river, and which, so far as our information now extends, its only tributary west of the Clearwater from the north.

The character of the country through which the Pelouse flows is such, that though at or near its mouth the volume of water reduces down to a mere thread, still as you ascend it the volume is increased and becomes deeper.

So also at or near the Pyramid butte, the valley of the stream, which from its mouth to this point is almost a cañon, here opens out into a broad, well-grassed, fertile valley, with thick forests of pine at many points. A full description of the country along the Pelouse to the east of the Pyramid butte may be found in the last published report of Governor Stevens, whose labors have made this whole region so well and so favorably known. The verbal conversations held with Colonel Steptoe, who passed over the upper part of the Pelouse, all go to confirm the views entertained by Governor Stevens regarding it, and so favorably impressed me that I sent a party of friendly Indians over the route to the Bitter Root valley, who report to me an easy wagon road up the valley of the Pelouse. It merits, and may yet receive, a more minute and careful examination, for if found as reported, it is the most direct location for the proposed military road from Fort Benton to Fort Walla-Walla.

The lower portion of the Pelouse is not timbered save with the willow, a few scattering cottonwood trees, and an occasional lost pine.

The stream overflows its banks, as shown by the many deep cuts through its valley bottom. Travelling eighteen miles we encamped

on the Pelouse about eight miles above our camp of the 27th August, finding good grass, wood and water. Here we met a large delegation of the Pelouse, with whom the colonel had a talk; and having hung a few of the ringleaders in the late difficulties, and taking a number of hostages, he allowed the remainder to return to their people.

It was supposed, at one time, that we should have remained here some days to await intelligence from General Clark, who, it was thought, contemplated a winter campaign; but as the *objects* of the expedition had been *all* attained, the colonel, on the 30th of September, moved one half of his command, under Captain Keyes, to our old camp at Fort Taylor, and on the 1st of October with the remainder crossed Snake river himself in perfect safety and rendezvoused at Walla-Walla, our command being there inspected by Colonel Mansfield, Inspector General United States army, on the 5th October, 1858.

It will be observed that throughout our whole march little or no mention is made of game in this region. We saw, I think, but one bear, which, with the large numbers of prairie chickens and sage hens, constituted our only game. Elk, bear, and deer, however, are found in large numbers in and near the foot-slopes of the mountains and in the Cœur d'Alene country, especially large numbers of black bear are found and which are successfully hunted by the Indians. Why game should be so scarce in this region does not exactly appear, unless it has been entirely destroyed, for grass and water are found in sufficient abundance to subsist countless herds of game.

We found most excellent trout in all the streams, as well as a variety of other fish peculiar to the mountain region. The salmon is found in the Spokane and its tributaries as far as the foot-slopes of the mountains, in the Cœur d'Alene and St. Joseph rivers, and the Cœur d'Alene lake.

During the higher stages of water they have little or no difficulty in passing over the upper and lower Spokane falls.

Up the Pelouse they cannot ascend beyond the falls, which are so high as to preclude all possibility of their passing; and on the Snake river I doubt if it is exactly known up to what point they ascend, unless it be at the "Great Shoshonee falls," not far from Fort Hall.

Many of the Indians inhabiting the great plain of the Columbia make almost annual hunting excursions across the mountains, to the plains of the Missouri and Yellowstone. Starting generally in June or July, when the streams are mostly fordable, they return before the first fall of snow, and even at times remain until the following spring, hunting in the mountains.

Thus it can be readily seen that, with the fish of the streams, their bands of horned stock and the increase of their countless herds of horses render them, if not wealthy, certainly independent of governmental aid and governmental assistance, so far as their immediate wants are concerned.

But the government in its wisdom and prudence should make some timely provision for these many Indians, by selecting for and placing them upon proper reservations, in order that they may not be caused to disappear by the fast-approaching waves of civilization and settlement that must otherwise overtake and eventually destroy them.

A complete series of meteorological observations were made from day to day with great care by Mr. Sohon over the whole line, from Fort Dalles to the Cœur d'Alene Mission and back; but no profile deduced from these observations is here appended: first, because it was not thought necessary; and, again, for the want of ample time to work up the observations.

They will go, however, to swell the data contemplated to be collected on the proposed line of the military road from Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Benton at a future day.

With regard to the meteorology of the country during the campaign, it might be well to remark that the number of rainy days was about one-fifth of the whole. We were delayed for two days, the 23d and 24th August, by heavy rain storms; and, as the narrative of the trip shows, we were often inconvenienced in travelling by heavy rains in July, August, and September. The prairie hills, which were burnt over in August, were covered with the young green grass putting forth beautifully by the last of September.

The weather was generally mild and pleasant, except a few nights in the Cœur d'Alene mountains, but even then not uncomfortable.

The table of latitudes, longitudes, and variations of the compass, which is appended to this report, were determined by Mr. Kolecki, Mr. Sohon, and myself, with as great accuracy as our instruments and means at hand allowed. Our sextant was one of Gambey's best, purchased of Blunt & Sons, New York, and which during the whole campaign worked in admirable adjustment. The latitudes were deduced principally from the meridian altitudes of the sun; at other times from Polaris, or north and south stars near the meridian. Our longitudes were chronometric; our chronometers being one pocket and two box, and two pocket watches. Our present chronometer was one received from the Topographical Bureau, which proved worthless, as did also the box chronometer, received from Lieutenant Wheeler. Our main reliance was upon a box chronometer hired from Mr. Tennent, and our pocket watches. This box chronometer was carried by hand from day to day with great care, enveloped in a leather case with stuffed cushions, over it again in a second case of sail cloth, made by Mr. Kolecki, who devoted himself zealously and assiduously to its care and the making of observations. Assuming our longitude of old Fort Walla-Walla, as that given by Captain Wilkes, of the United States navy, and for the reasons set forth hereafter, and platting our odometer survey back to Fort Dalles, we find that our longitude of that place falls between that given it by Colonel Frémont and that of Lieutenant Abbott. And, therefore, on our map we have given the longitude of Fort Dalles  $120^{\circ} 57' 48''$  W., and latitude  $45^{\circ} 35' 48''$  N.; and longitude of Fort Walla-Walla—the present new fort— $118^{\circ} 12' 36''$  W.. and latitude  $46^{\circ} 03' 18''$  N.

Lieutenant Abbott enjoyed superior advantages to either Colonel Frémont or ourselves, from the number of his chronometers, &c., and, therefore, his results are justly entitled to greater credit; but I still regard the question as to the position of Fort Dalles and Fort Cascades and Fort Vancouver as still open, and that merit a special set of observations, made with great care and under special advan-

tages, that will go to settle definitely the doubt that now exists regarding them, and that will enable future lines to take any one of them as fixed initial points.

In future explorations and surveys, therefore, in this quarter, special attention, with credit to the surveyor or explorer and advantage to the department, might be given to this subject.

We have assumed Wilkes' longitude as the basis for our work, and for the reason that his means and time for deducing it were, perhaps, better than our own. Our latitude differs from Wilkes' by  $1' 12''$ . The following letter from Captain Wilkes to Lieutenant Warren, of the army, who, when compiling a map of that region, addressed him a letter asking for the observation upon which these results were based, speaks for itself and shows what reliance may therefore be placed in them. Observations were made at old Fort Walla-Walla by the parties of Captain Wilkes in 1841, and again by Colonel Frémont in 1843, after his trip across the continent. But the advantages enjoyed by Captain Wilkes must have been so far superior to those of Frémont that, with all due respect to those of the latter, I think justice to a survey and to correctness dictate the adopting the results of Wilkes. The following letter, copied with the permission and kindness of Lieutenant Warren, shows what reliance Captain Wilkes placed upon the work of Lieutenant Johnston of the navy, who made the observations :

“WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *June 5, 1854.*

“DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 29th should have been answered sooner if I could have found the observations by which the position of Walla-Walla was determined.

“The position assigned it is latitude  $46^{\circ} 02' 48''$  N., longitude  $118^{\circ} 47' 45''$  W. The result of three days' observations deduced from chronometers, and these were made by Lieutenant Johnston, of the expedition, who had charge of the party, and even calculated my own observations of the rates. The position was also determined by bearings or angles on the three mountain peaks, which gave a very good result.

“I have always felt great confidence in these results. I gave them at the time a very careful examination, and think Lieutenant Johnston made them under favorable circumstances. Mr. Drayton, who also visited Walla-Walla in the survey of the river up to that point, agrees in his determination with Lieutenant Johnston at this point. Their observations were intended to serve as checks upon each other.

“I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“CHARLES WILKES, *U. S. Navy.*

“LIEUT. G. K. WARREN,

“*Topographical Engineers, Washington, D. C.*

“True copy :

“JOHN MULLAN,

“*First Lieutenant, 2d Artillery, U. S. A.*”



A table of distances by odometer measurement is also appended to the report, which may be useful either for reference or for the future traveller. The report might have been much fuller had it been thought necessary; but I believe the character of the line of march and the country through which we were called upon to operate will be made sufficiently known by what has been said.

The expedition, which was planned, organized, and moved into the field against the hostile northern Indians by the prompt and wise plans of General Clark, assisted by his efficient staff, for the punishment of the Spokanes, Pelouses, and Cœur d'Alenes, was thus ended on the first day of October, 1858; and that it *was ended*, in the opinion of the officer commanding the campaign and with what results, his following official letter, on file in the War Department, sufficiently shows, and I therefore append it. I can only close my report by again returning my thanks to my assistants, Mr. Kolecki and Mr. Sohon, to whose zealous and untiring labors I am mainly indebted for anything of value that my report may contain.

To Captain Kirkham, assistant quartermaster, who was always ready and willing to co-operate with me, and to such officers and men, civil and enlisted, who, from time to time, throughout the campaign lent me their cordial assistance and co-operation, I would here return my sincere thanks.

I am, sir, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN MULLAN,

*First Lieut. 2d Artillery, Acting Top. Eng.*

HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITION AGAINST NORTHERN INDIANS,  
*Camp on the Pelouse River, W. T., September 30, 1858.*

SIR: The war is closed. Peace is restored with the Spokanes, Cœur d'Alenes and Pelouses. After a vigorous campaign the Indians have been entirely subdued, and were most happy to accept such terms of peace as I might dictate.

*Results.*

1. Two battles fought by the troops under my command, against the combined forces of the Spokanes, Cœur d'Alenes, and Pelouses, in both of which the Indians were signally defeated, with a severe loss of chiefs and warriors, either killed or wounded.

2. The capture of one thousand horses and a large number of cattle from the hostile Indians, all of which were either killed or appropriated to the service of the United States.

3. Many barns filled with wheat or oats, also several fields of grain, with numerous *caches* of vegetables, dried berries, and *kamas*, all destroyed or used by the troops.

4. The Yakima chief, Ow-hi, in irons, and the notorious war chief Qual-chian, hung. The murderers of the miners, the cattle stealers, &c., (in all eleven Indians) all hung.

5. The Spokanes. Cœur d'Alenes and Pelouses entirely subdued, and sue most abjectly for peace on any terms.

6. Treaties made with the above named nations; they have restored all property which was in their possession, belonging either to the United States or to individuals; they have promised that all white people shall travel through their country unmolested, and that no hostile Indians shall be allowed to pass through or remain among them.

7. The delivery to the officer in command of the United States troops of the Indians who commenced the battle with Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe contrary to the orders of their chiefs.

8. The delivery to the officer in command of the United States troops of *one* chief and *four* men, with their *families*, from each of the above named tribes, to be taken to Fort Walla-Walla, and held as hostages for the future good conduct of their respective nations.

9. The recovery of the two mountain howitzers abandoned by the troops under Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

*Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.*

Major W. W. MACKALL,

*Assistant Adjutant General,*

*Headquarters Department of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver, W. T.*

Table of distances on the line of march followed by the military expedition against the northern Indians under Colonel G. Wright, from July 16 until October 16, 1858.

FROM FORT DALLS TO SNAKE RIVER, (MOUTH OF TUKANON AND FORT TAYLOR,) BY THE ROUTE OF THE WAGON ROAD.

	Junction 5 and 10 mile creeks.	Des Chutes river.	Mud springs.	John Day's river.	Rock Creek camp.	Willow creek.	Butter creek.	Fort Henrietta.	Up camp on Umatilla, (McCoy's agency.)	Wild Horse creek.	New Fort Walla-Walla.	Dry creek.	Touchet river.	Head of Reed creek.	Tukafon.	Snake river, mouth of Tukafon.
	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.
Fort Dalles .....	6.0	16.0	27.2	47.3	54.5	74.5	104.5	113.6	134.3	152.0	172.7	182.8	195.8	203.5	214.7	217.7
Junction 5 and 10 mile creeks .....		10.0	21.2	41.6	48.5	68.5	98.5	107.6	128.3	146.0	166.7	176.8	189.8	197.5	208.7	211.7
Des Chutes river .....			11.2	31.6	38.5	58.5	88.5	97.6	118.3	136.0	156.7	166.8	179.8	187.5	198.7	201.7
Mud Springs .....				20.4	27.3	47.3	77.3	86.4	107.1	124.8	145.5	155.6	168.6	176.3	187.5	190.5
John Day's river .....					6.9	26.9	56.9	66.0	86.7	104.4	125.1	135.2	148.2	155.9	167.1	170.1
Rock Creek camp .....						20.0	50.0	59.1	79.8	97.5	118.1	128.3	141.3	149.0	160.2	163.2
Willow creek .....							30.0	39.1	59.8	77.5	98.2	108.3	121.3	129.0	140.2	143.2
Butter creek .....								9.1	29.8	47.5	68.2	78.3	91.3	99.0	110.2	113.2
Fort Henrietta, (crossing of Umatilla) .....									20.7	38.4	59.1	69.2	82.2	89.9	101.1	104.1
McKay's agency, (upper camp on Umatilla) .....										17.7	38.4	48.5	61.5	69.2	80.4	83.4
Wild Horse creek .....											20.7	30.8	43.8	51.5	62.7	65.7
New Fort Walla-Walla .....												10.1	23.1	30.8	42.0	45.0
Dry creek .....													13.0	20.7	31.9	34.9
Touchet river .....														7.7	18.9	21.9
Head of Reed creek .....															11.2	14.2
Tukafon .....																3.0

## Table of distances—Continued.

FROM MOUTH OF TUKAÑON TO CŒUR D'ALENE MISSION VIA THE CŒUR D'ALENE PRAIRIE, &amp;C.

	Pelouse river.	Cow Creek camp.	Aspen camp.	Pedrigal camp.	Camp at four lakes.	1st camp, Spokane river.	2d camp, Spokane river.	3d camp, Spokane river.	Cœur d'Aléne lake.	Wolf's Lodge creek.	Cœur d'Aléne Mission.
	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.
Snake river and Tukañon .....	13.8	20.1	40.1	58.1	77.6	97.8	103.8	118.3	133.8	145.8	161.8
Pelouse river .....		6.3	26.3	44.3	63.8	84.0	90.0	104.5	120.0	132.0	148.0
Cow Creek camp .....			20.0	38.0	57.5	77.7	83.7	98.2	103.7	115.7	131.7
Aspen camp .....				18.0	37.5	57.7	63.7	78.2	93.7	105.7	121.7
Pedrigal camp .....					19.5	39.7	45.7	60.2	75.7	87.7	103.7
Camp at the four lakes .....						20.2	26.2	40.7	56.2	68.2	84.2
1st camp on Spokane river, below Lahtoo creek .....							6.0	20.5	36.0	48.0	64.0
2d camp on Spokane river, above the Great falls .....								14.5	30.0	42.0	58.0
3d camp on Spokane river, (Best ford) .....									15.5	27.5	43.5
Cœur d'Aléne lake .....										12.0	28.0
Wolf's Lodge creek .....											16.0

FROM CŒUR D'ALENE MISSION TO MOUTH OF TUKAÑON VIA THE GUTS OF THE LAKE AND NED-WHAULD CREEK.

	Cœur d'Aléne river.	St. Joseph's river.	Camp at spring.	Lahtoo creek.	Tsil-sei pow-vetsin.	Tscho-cho-u-seep.	Oray-tay-ouse.	Pelouse river.	Mouth of Tukañon, (Fort Taylor.)
	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.
Cœur d'Aléne Mission .....	15.0	28.0	34.0	55.0	70.0	81.2	107.7	122.7	140.7
Cœur d'Aléne River crossing .....		13.0	19.0	40.0	55.0	66.2	92.7	107.7	125.7
St. Joseph's River crossing .....			6.0	27.0	42.0	53.2	79.7	94.7	112.7
Camp at spring .....				21.0	36.0	47.2	73.7	88.7	106.7
Lahtoo (Nedwhauld or Camass prairie) creek .....					15.0	26.2	52.7	67.7	85.7
Tsil-sei-pow-vetsin creek and lake .....						11.2	37.7	52.7	70.7
Tcho-cho-u-seep Creek fork .....							26.5	41.5	58.5
Oray-tay-ouse or In-cho-a-sep Creek crossing .....								15.0	33.0
Camp on Pelouse river .....									18.0
Mouth of Tukañon, (Fort Taylor) .....									0.0

	Miles.
From New Fort Walla-Walla to Old Fort Walla-Walla .....	29.4
From mouth of Des Chutes river to Old Fort Walla-Walla by Columbia river, (estimated) .....	119.0
From mouth of Tukañon to Old Fort Walla-Walla by Snake river and Columbia ..do.....	60.2
From mouth of Tukañon to New Fort Walla-Walla by the lower land route .....	50.3

## RECAPITULATION.

	Miles.
Fort Dalles to mouth of Tukañon, Snake river .....	217.7
Snake river to Cœur d'Aléne Mission .....	161.8
Cœur d'Aléne Mission to Snake river .....	140.7
Snake river to New Fort Walla-Walla .....	50.3
New Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Dalles .....	168.0
Total distance .....	738.5

*Table of latitudes, longitudes, and variations of the compass determined on the line of march of the expedition under Colonel George Wright against hostile northern Indians in Oregon and Washington Territories, and prepared under the general direction of Captain A. A. Humphreys, in charge of Bureau of Explorations and Surveys, War Department, by Lieutenant John Mullan, 2d artillery, and Theodore Kolečki, civil engineer, &c., and topographer to the expedition.*

Date.	Place of observation.	Latitude.	Longitude.	Variation.	Remarks.
1858.		° ' "	° ' "	'	
May 15	Fort Dalles, Oregon .....	45 35 48 N.	120 57 48 W.	19 30 E.	Deduced from the position of Old Fort Walla-Walla by odometer survey.
25	Dalles City, Oregon .....	45 36 04	-----	-----	
July 20	Camp on Rock creek, six miles above its mouth .....	45 33 41	-----	-----	
23	Crossing of Umatilla .....	45 41 25	-----	20 00	
24	McCoy's agency on Umatilla .....	45 40 00	-----	-----	
25	Camp on Wild Horse creek, at bend .....	45 48 16	118 19 42	21 00	Determined by Captain Wilkes, United States navy, and adopted as a standard longitude.
28	Old Fort Walla-Walla, centre of fort. ....	46 03 58	118 47 45	-----	
Aug. 1	Camp near New Fort Walla-Walla .....	46 03 55	118 12 01	21 30	
7	New Fort Walla-Walla .....	46 03 18	118 12 36	-----	
12	Fort Taylor, junction of Snake and Toukanon rivers .....	46 33 04	118 01 40	22 00	
27	Camp on Pelouse river .....	46 45 10	118 00 39	22 00	Deduced from the preceding.
28	Camp on Cow creek .....	46 50 01	117 58 42	-----	
29	Camp Aspen .....	47 05 15	117 51 48	-----	
30	Pedrigal camp .....	47 17 48	117 43 48	-----	
31	Camp at "Four Lakes" .....	47 32 09	117 32 05	-----	
Sept. 6	First camp on Spokane river .....	47 40 35	117 19 22	-----	
10	Third camp on Spokane river .....	47 41 04	116 57 42	-----	
14	Cœur d'Alene mission at the church .....	47 32 54	116 13 45	22 00	
Aug. 19	Camp on Cœur d'Alene river .....	47 28 32	116 29 48	-----	
20	Camp on St. Joseph's river, at the "Guts" of the lake ..	47 23 12	116 36 12	(?)	
23	Camp at Nedwhauld creek .....	47 23 56	117 07 19	-----	
30	Camp on Pelouse .....	46 46 12	117 54 00	-----	
25	Steptoe's battle field .....	47 14 24	117 11 53	22 00	

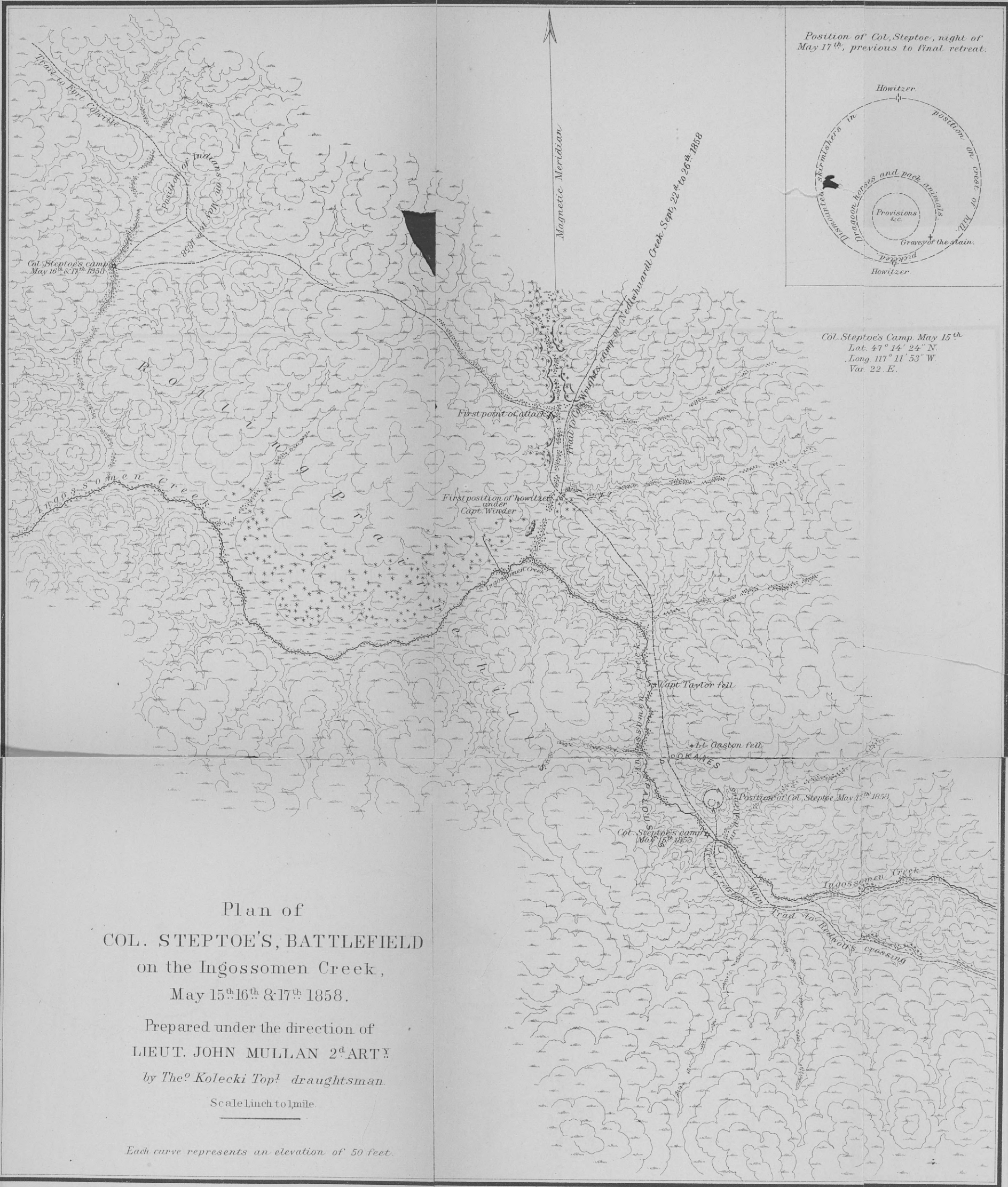
Respectfully submitted.

JOHN MULLAN, 1st Lieut. 2d Artillery, Acting Top. Eng'r.



JOHN MULLAN, 1st Lieut. 2d Artillery, Acting Top. Eng'r.

Respectfully submitted.



Plan of  
COL. STEPTOE'S, BATTLEFIELD  
on the Ingossomen Creek,  
May 15<sup>th</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> & 17<sup>th</sup> 1858.

Prepared under the direction of  
LIEUT. JOHN MULLAN 2<sup>d</sup> ART<sup>y</sup>  
by The<sup>o</sup> Kolečki Top<sup>l</sup> draughtsman.

Scale 1 inch to 1 mile.

Each curve represents an elevation of 50 feet.



